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1936-12Dec-1a	<b>Vote for Bill Butterworth</b> -SWL - Deputy Reeve Ward 3:
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1937-0-2-p1	(undated) Document: <b>“On a formal decision to enter CCYM”</b>
1937-0-2-p2	“It was precisely the lack of this base...”
1937-0-2-p3	“Will this not interfere with the WPC and the CCF orientation?”
1937-0-2-p4	(conclusion) signed Clark and –M or R-- Dowson)
1937-0-2-p5	“Now as to the perspective of Kennedy
1937-0-2-p6	“This is not a complete thesis” ( <i>Public entry had been refused by the CCYM posing the necessity of a “back-door entry;” surveying the strength of the SY clubs, reasons for the entry tactic, observations on the CCYM as a fruitful area of work</i>
1937-0-1a	(undated) Flyer: “Citizens of York Township—Relief allowances cut
1937-01Jan 28-1a	<b>Document: Jan. 28/37 “Statement of N.C. Minority;”</b> (Recent note by RD: “very important document all the more so in that there is no serious majority document (where is RD’s contribution?) by Maurice Altman – The whole tone of this document is defeatist – formalistic, sterile – obviously no leadership. See Ross Dowson p. 41 – when did RD join Cdn Section? NB in opposing adult entry; have to sharpen up youth work.”
1937-01Jan 28-1b	Cover
1937-01Jan 28-1c	Notes – list of names
1937-01Jan 28-1d	Notes – list of names
1937-03Mar1	Document <b>“Rough Notes by Ross Dowson”</b> – analysis of the results of entry by the Spartacus Youth League into the CCYM (CCF youth)
1938-02Feb-1a	“The Founding Conference of the F.I. (title page, SWP-US)
1938-02Feb-1b	<b>Resolution on the Work of the Canadian Section”</b> (page 1)
1938-02Feb12-1	Document: <b>“Canadian Section, Buro for Fourth International: Internal Report for All America – Pacific Commission,”</b> re: C.C.F., C.P., WP
1938-02Feb12-2	Canadian Report -- Workers Party
1938-02Feb12-3	Youth, Entry,
1938-02Feb12-4	Minority after entry, Social composition, Our present activity; Negotiations
1938-02Feb12-5	Offensive against Stalinism (Chicago meeting)
1938-02Feb12-6	Minority, Field Group, Our perspectives.
1938-04Apr15	Document: <b>“The War Crisis &amp; CCF Policy”</b> Issued by the SPG re: the critical test of the coming war, our defence of the Soviet Union; our attitude to imperialist war; on pacifism and isolationism; our demands.
1938-05May	<b>“Resolution of the All-American and Pacific Pre-Conference (April-May 1938) concerning the work of the Canadian Section of the Fourth International;</b>
1938-05MayA-	(Cover)Document of the SWP-US: The Founding Conference of the Fourth International -- “Program and Resolutions” (“copy Murray Dowson”)
1938-05MayA	“Resolution on the Work of the Canadian Section” (close duplicate)

1938-06Jun (undated, found in June) **“A Program for the Socialist Policy Group  
A Statement of Principles”**

1938-06Jun-1b (p2) Expropriation of CPR – Workers control of Hydro system

1938-06Jun-1c (p3) Menace of Fascism – the war danger – expropriation of war industries

1938-06Jun-1d Statement – Agree to work for CCF entry

1938-06Jun-2a *Clips: World Congress Founds Fourth International (missing)*

1938-06Jun-2b *Clips: “Internationalism Our Banner” (missing)*

1938-06Jun-2c Open Letter: “To the Members of the Communist Party” *(missing)*

1938-06Jun-2d Photo montage: Lenin's General Staff 1917 all executed by Stalin *(missing)*

1938-Dec 16 **Statement of the National Committee** *(unsigned, likely Robertson)*

1939-Feb.16 **“Evaluation of the CCF entry”** *(unsigned, likely E. Robertson)*  
WPC dissolved in May 1937 with the majority entering the CCF to  
crystallize a left wing; the slow progress of integration; entry about to end;  
the positive experience gained despite failure of tactics.

1939-06June-pl **“Canadian Capitalism and the Strategy of the Revolutionary  
Movement”** *(unsigned document found in June, likely author Robertson)*

1939-06June II. Quebec and minority groupings

1939-06June III. Agriculture

1939-06June IV. Industry and finance

1939-06June V. American and British investments

1939-06June VI. Trade unions VII. The Depression

1939-06June VIII. The unemployed + IX. Political parties

1939-06June Pt.X. Socialist Policy Group

1939-06June *(conclusion) Signed Robertson (note by RD)*

1939-Sept-1 **“Build the anti-war party - What is to be done”** -- issued by the SWL

1939-11Nov28 Letter from J.S. Woodsworth, MP, Winnipeg, re: appeal for Watson

1939-11Nov28 Letter to Canadian Civil Liberties Union, Montreal from M. Dowson  
re: freedom for Frank Watson, re: his opposition to World War 2

1939-11Nov28 *Clip: “Funds urgently needed for Watson defense” (Militant, SWP, NY)*

1939-11Nov28 *Clip: Growing protest -- Funds remittable to American Labor Aid, NY*

1939-11Nov28 April 1940 letter from Under-Secretary of State refusing Watson appeal

1940-01Jan12 Letter of resignation from the movement signed Robertson (Birney)

1940-01Jan18 Letter from J.P. Cannon (SWP-US) to Trotsky ref. to Robertson (Birney)

1940-05May-1 W14 Index 1940-41 – list two 1941 documents

1941-05May-1 IB#1-SWL of Canada – attributed to Ross Dowson *(handwriting)*

1941-05May-2 The New Task: “From an educational sect to a proletarian movement”

1943-09Sept-1 **“Canadian Labor's Election Victories”**  
*(Unsigned column in I.I.Bulletin published by SWP, New York, reflecting  
M. Spector's knowledge and views – author unknown)*

1943-09Sept-2 “They voted against the capitalist class” -- its support of the War);

1943-09Sept-3 “That does not mean the CCF had opposed the war...”

1943-09Sept-4 “The workers distrust the capitalist future,”

1943-09Sept-5	"Developments in Canada and USA" -- the massive vote against the old-line capitalist parties in Canada.
1945-03Mar-1	<b>"Canadian Anti-War Struggles"</b> and the growth CCF as an expression of the mass radicalization of Canadian workers ( <i>Unsigned</i> )
1945-11Nov-1	<b>"Foreign Press Clippings – Canada:"</b> (from <i>Fourth International</i> ) notes the appearance of a new journal <i>Labour Challenge</i> ( <i>Unsigned</i> )
1945-12Dec	( <i>Undated notes with changes made by RD found in 1945</i> ), re: coast-to-coast strike wave unfolding
1945-11Nov5a	<i>Photo:</i> Auto occupation of Windsor plant during Ford strike Nov. 1945
1945-11Nov5b	<i>Photo:</i> Aerial view of auto blockade closing Ford offices and Plant strike
1946-01a	( <i>RD speech excerpt</i> ) -- "Driven underground by the War Measures Act"
1946-01b-Jan24	<i>Letter: R.Dowson to Maurice Spector (New York): our success in raising 1500; our election campaign winning up to 10% of the vote in working-class areas</i>
1946-03Mar-0a	( <i>cover</i> ) Perspectives of the Canadian Section
1946-03Mar-0c	RWP-IB V.1-No.1- Perspectives of the Canadian Section
1946-05May11	September 1946 IIBulletin (SWP-US): Report by the Canadian Comrades ( <i>Unsigned, based on the experiences of Ross Dowson, Toronto</i> )
1951-05May1a	( <i>cover</i> ) RWP IB –Vol. II No. 5 – General Political Resolution
1951-05May1b	RWP-IB-Vol.III No. 1 -- The CCF
1951-07July-2	<b>The CCF: OUR TASKS AND PERSPECTIVES</b> by Ross Dowson
1952-03Mar	On the dissolution of the RWP ( <i>abridged</i> )
1953-1az	Murray Dowson, Campaign for Toronto City Councillor

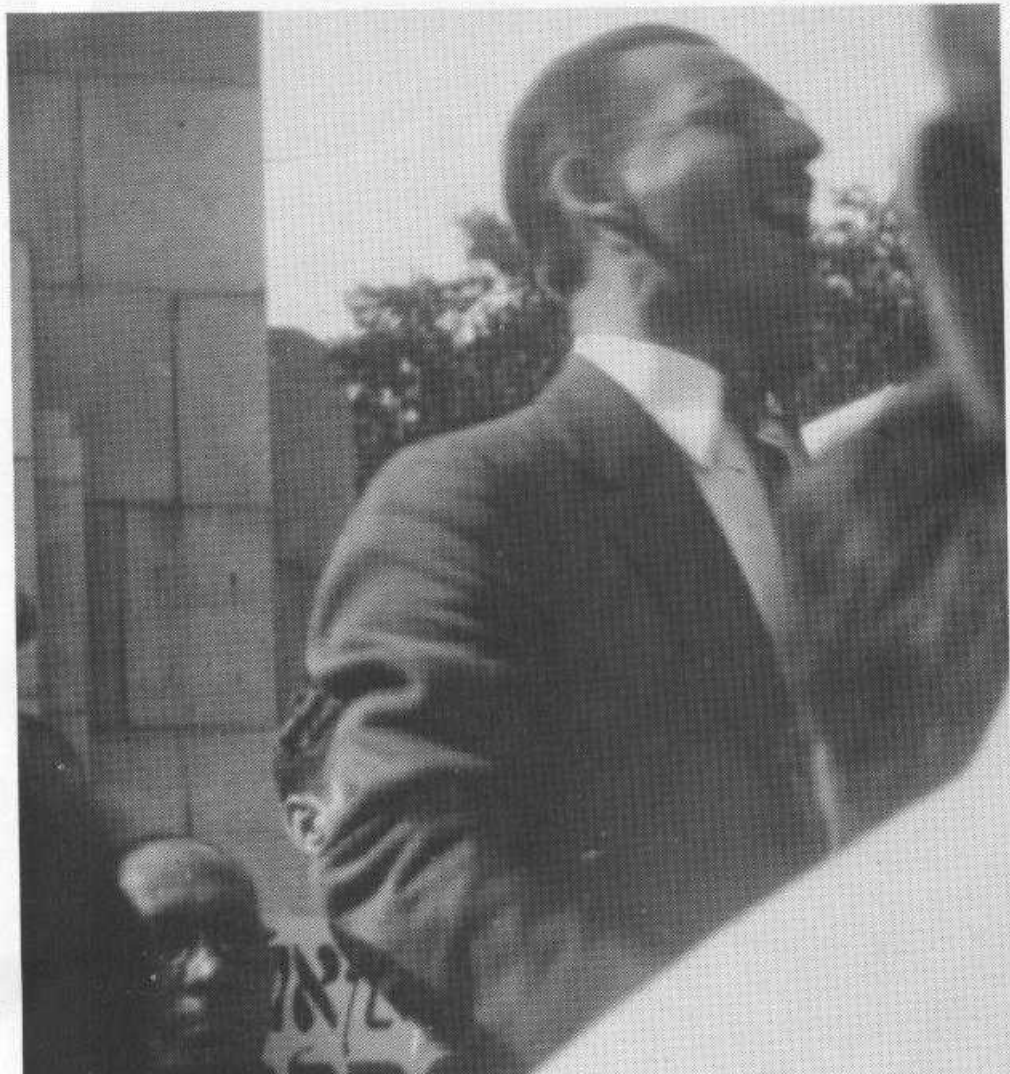




c.1930-1a "Moriarty funeral--one of Mac" (RD note)

Jack MacDonald (centre) at burial of Wm. Moriarty, founding member Canadian CP--Toronto





c.1930-2 First leader of Canadian Trotskyism  
Maurice Spector speaking full bore

## **Selected Readings in Marxism, *edited by Maurice Spector*, Toronto, 1932**

*(some modernization of titles and spelling made by the website editor)*

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## **Selected Readings in Marxism** *edited by Maurice Spector, Toronto, 1932*

### **INTRODUCTORY**

#### *DEFINITION AND SOURCES OF MARXISM*

“Marxism is a complete theoretical system. To put the matter in a nutshell, **Marxism is contemporary materialism**. The highest stage of development of that philosophy, that view of the universe, whose foundations were laid in ancient Greece by Democritus and in part by his predecessors, the Ionian thinkers ... The chief credit for the elaboration of contemporary materialism undoubtedly belongs to Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels. The historical and economic aspects of this philosophy, together with the system of views concerning the problems, the method, and the categories of political economy, and concerning the economic evolution of society (in especial of capitalist society) -- for these we are almost wholly indebted to Marx and Engels.”

#### Plekhanov -- **FUNDAMENTAL PROBLEMS OF MARXISM**

"Just as Darwin discovered the law of evolution of organic nature, Marx discovered the **evolutionary law of human history** -- the simple fact hitherto hidden beneath ideological undergrowths, that above all men must eat, drink, dress, and find shelter before they can give themselves to politics, science, art, religion, or anything else, and that therefore the production of the material necessities of life and the corresponding stage of economic evolution of a people or a period provides the foundation upon which the national institutions, legal system, art, and even religious ideas of the people in question have been built, and upon which therefore, this explanation must be based, a procedure the reverse of that which has hitherto been adopted."

Marx discovered the special law of motion for the modern capitalistic mode of production and for the middle class society which it begets. With the **discovery of surplus-value** light was at once thrown upon a subject, all the earlier investigations of which, whether by middle-class economists, or by Socialist critics, had been groping in the dark...."

#### Engels -- **SPEECH AT MARX'S FUNERAL**, March 17, 1883.

"As far as I am concerned I can't claim to have discovered the existence of classes in modern society or their strife against one another. Middle class historians long ago described the evolution of the class struggle and political economists showed the economic psychology of the classes. I have added as a new contribution the following propositions:

- (1) that the existence of classes is bound up with certain phases of material production. ·
- (2) that the class struggle leads necessarily to the dictatorship of the proletariat.



(3) that this dictatorship is but the transition to the abolition of all classes and to the creation of a society free and equal;"

Marx to his American friend Weydmeyer, 1832.

"Marx continued and brilliantly rounded off the three main currents of nineteenth century thought, the currents that flowed in the three most advanced countries in the world; classical German philosophy, classical British political economy, and French Socialism. Even his adversaries admit that his views form a consistent whole, and it will be well, before explaining the main content of Marxism, to make a brief study of his philosophical outlook."

Lenin -- MARXISM.

## **Chapter I - DIALECTICAL MATERIALISM**

### **PHILOSOPHIC MATERIALISM**

From 1844-5, when his opinions were definitely formed, Marx was a materialist, and in especial a follower of Feuerbach, although as time went on he came to see that that thinker had his weak side - that Feuerbach's materialism was not consistently applied, was not universal in its scope. For Marx, Feuerbach's world-historical and "epoch-making" significance depended upon his having decisively broken away from the idealism of Hegel and upon his proclamation of materialism, which already "in the 18<sup>th</sup> century (especially in France) had become a struggle against every form of metaphysics." (HOLY FAMILY and POSTHUMOUS PAPERS). "For Hegel," wrote Marx in the preface to the second edition of the first volume of CAPITAL, "the thought process which he even transforms -- under the name of the idea -- into an independent subject, is the demiurge (the creator, the maker) of the real... But for me, or the contrary, the ideal is nothing other than the material, which has been transplanted into the human head and transformed there."

In full conformity with Marx's materialist philosophy, and expounding it, Engels wrote in ANTI-DUHRING; "The unity of the world consists, not in its existence... but in its materiality, as is proved... by the course of the long and laborious development of philosophy and natural science... Motion is the form of the existence of matter. Never and nowhere has there been or can there be matter without motion, or motion without matter... If we enquire... what thought and consciousness are, whence they came, we find that they are products of the human brain, that man himself is a product of nature, developing in a known natural environment and together with it. Obviously, therefore, the products of the human brain are, in the last analysis, products of nature; they do not conflict, but harmonize with the continuity of nature." ... Again; "Hegel was an idealist, that is to say, for him the thoughts in our heads are not the more or less abstract reflexions of real things and processes; but, on the contrary, things and processes were, for Hegel, the reflexions of ideas existing somewhere before the creation of the world."

In his LUDWIG FEUERBACH, in which Engels expounds his own and Marx' views upon Feuerbach's philosophy, and which Engels sent to press after reading the manuscript work on Hegel, Feuerbach, and the Materialist Conception of History penned by himself and Marx in 1845-46, he

writes: "The basic question for every philosophy, and especially for a new philosophy is the question of the relationship between thought and existence... between spirit and nature ... the question which is prior to the other; whether spirit precedes nature, or nature precedes spirit. Philosophers are divided into two great camps, according to the way in which they have answered this question. Those who have declared that spirit exists before nature, and who have in the last resort assumed that the world was created, have belonged to the idealist camp. But those who have regarded nature as primary, and thought as secondary, have belonged to one of the various schools of materialists."

It is especially important that we should note Marx's opinion concerning freedom and necessity; "Necessity is blind until it becomes conscious. Freedom is the consciousness of necessity." (Engels – ANTI-DUHRING) -- an acknowledgement of the reign of law in nature, and of the dialectical transformation of necessity into freedom (on all fours with the transformation of the unknown but knowable thing-in-itself into the thing-for-us, the essence of things, into the phenomenon.)"

The fundamental inadequacy of the earlier materialism of Marx and Engels (including Feuerbach's materialism, and, a fortiori, the "vulgar" materialism of Buchner and Vogt and Molescholt, is due to the following points;

(1) it was predominantly mechanical, not giving due weight to the recent developments of chemistry and biology.

(2) it was non-historical, non-dialectical (was metaphysical, in the sense of being anti-dialectical) and failed to adopt an all-round developmental outlook.

(3) it regarded "human nature" abstractly, and not as a synthesis (concretely and historically determined) of all social relationships -- and thus only explained the world instead of trying to change it, overlooking the significance of practical revolutionary activity.

## THE DIALECTIC

Marx and Engels regarded the Hegelian dialectic as rich in content, as a many-sided and profound contribution to thought, to the theory of development; and they looked upon it as the most valuable product of classical German philosophy. All other formulations of the theory of development, of the theory of evolution, seemed to them one-sided, poor in content, distorting and mutilating the actual course of the development of nature and society (sometimes by making jumps, or needlessly introducing cataclysms or revolutions.)

"Marx and I" writes Engels, "were almost the only persons who made it their business to save a reasonable dialectic out of the ruins of idealism, Hegelian idealism not excepted, and to transform it into a materialist conception of nature ... Nature is a confirmation of dialectic ... and modern science provides this confirmation in the form of an extraordinarily vast and daily increasing mass of material which bears witness to the fact that, in the last analysis things subsist in nature dialectically and not metaphysically."

Again, Engels writes; "The basic thought that the world does not consist of complete and fully fashioned objects, but is an assemblage of processes, in which the objects, seemingly unchangeable,

equally with the copies of them made inside the head (notions) are undergoing incessant changes, arising here and disappearing there -- this basic thought has since the time of Hegel become so widely diffused throughout the general consciousness, that hardly anyone will now venture to dispute it in its general sense. But it is one thing to accept this in words, quite another to put it into practice upon every possible occasion and in every field of investigation." Once more: "For the dialectic philosophy nothing is ever established for all time, absolute or sacred. On everything it sees the stamp of inevitable decline, to which all things are subject, save the unceasing process of formation and destruction, of unending progression from the lower to the higher. That philosophy itself is only a simple reflexion of the process, a reflexion within the thinking brain." Thus dialectic, according to Marx, is the "sequence of the general laws of motion both in the external and in the human brain."

Marx adopted and developed this revolutionary side of Hegel's philosophy. Dialectic materialism "does not need a philosophy based upon other sciences." Of former philosophies there remain "the science of thought and its laws, formal logic, and dialectic." But dialectic, as the term is used by Marx (in conformity with Hegel's usage) includes what is now called the theory of cognition, or epistemology, or gnoseology, or the science of understanding, which must contemplate its subject matter in the same way -- historically, studying and generalizing the origin and development of cognition; the change from unconsciousness to consciousness."

Lenin - MARXISM.

## HEGELIAN DIALECTIC

In this case the separation from Hegelian philosophy occurred by means of a return to the materialistic standpoint, that is to say, a determination to comprehend the actual world -- nature and history -- as it presents itself to each of us, without any interference from preconceived idealistic balderdash; it was resolved to pitilessly sacrifice any idealistic preconceived notion which could not be brought into harmony with facts actually discovered in the mutual relations and without any visionary notions. Only here, for the first time in the history of the materialistic philosophy, was an earnest endeavor made to carry its results to all questions arising in the realm of knowledge, at least in its characteristic features.

Hegel was not merely put on one side; the school attached itself on the contrary, to his openly revolutionary side, the dialectic method. But this method was of no service in its Hegelian form. According to Hegel the dialectic is the self-development of the Idea; the Absolute Idea does not only exist from eternity, but is actually the living soul of the whole existing world. It develops from itself to itself through all the preliminary stages which are treated of at large in "Logic" and which are included in it. Then it steps outside of itself where it, without self-consciousness, is disguised as a necessity of nature, goes through a new development and finally, in man himself, becomes self-consciousness. This self-consciousness now works itself out into the higher stages from the lower forms of matter, until finally the Absolute Idea is again realized in the Hegelian philosophy. According to Hegel, the dialectic development apparent in nature and history, that is, a causative, connected progression from the lower to the higher, in spite of all zig-zag movements and momentary setbacks, is only the stereotype of the self

progression of the idea from eternity, whither one does not know, but independent at all events of the thought of any human brain.

## DIALECTICAL MATERIALISM

This topsy-turvy ideology had to be put aside. We conceived of ideas as materialistic, as pictures of real things, instead of real things as pictures of this or that stage of the absolute idea. Thereupon the dialectic became reduced to the knowledge of the universal laws of motion, as well of the outer world as of the thoughts of men -- two sets of laws which are identical as far as matter is concerned but which differs as regards expression, in so far as the mind of man can employ them consciously; while in nature, and up to now, in human history, for the most part they accomplish themselves, unconsciously in the form of external necessity, through an endless succession of apparent accidents. Hereupon the dialectic of the idea became itself merely the conscious reflex of the dialectic evolution of the real world, and therefore the dialectic of Hegel was turned upside down, or rather placed upon its feet instead of upon its head, where it had stood before. And this materialistic dialectic which since that time has been our best tool and our sharpest weapon, was discovered, not by us alone, but by a German workman, Joseph Dutzgen in a remarkable manner and utterly independent of us.

But just here the revolutionary side of Hegel's philosophy was again taken up, and at the same time freed from the idealistic frippery which had in Hegel's hands interfered with its necessary conclusions. One great fundamental thought, namely, that the world is not to be considered as a complexity of ready-made things, but as complex made up of processes in which apparently stable things, no less than thought pictures in the brain -- the idea -- cause an unbroken chain of coming into being and passing away, in which, by means of all sorts of accidents, and in spite of all momentary setbacks, there is carried out in the end a progressive development -- this great foundation thought, has, particularly since the time of Hegel, so dominated the thoughts of the mass of men, that, generally speaking, it is now hardly denied. But to acknowledge it in phrases, and to apply it in reality to each particular set of conditions which come up for examinations are two different matters. If one proceeds steadily in his investigations from this historic point, then a stop is put, once for all, to the demand for final solutions and eternal truths; one is firmly (conscious) of the limitations of all acquired knowledge, of its hypothetical nature, owing to the circumstances under which it has been gained. One cannot be imposed upon any longer by the inflated unsubstantial antitheses of the older metaphysics of true & false, good and evil, identical and differentiated, necessary and accidental. One knows that these antitheses have only a relative significance, and that that which is recognized as true now, has its concealed and later developing false side, just as that which is recognized as false, its true side, by which it can later on prevail as truth; that so called necessity is made up of the purely accidental, and that the accidental is the form behind which necessity conceals itself, and so on."

Engels - FEUERBACH

"But dialectical materialism insists upon the approximate; relative, character of every scientific proposition concerning the structure of matter and its properties; on the absence of absolute boundaries in nature; on the transformation of moving matter from one state to another ....

Recent physics fell into an idealistic swamp mainly because the physicists did not the dialectic. They combated metaphysical materialism and its one-sided 'mechanization' but in so doing they not only threw the water out of the bath, but the child as well. By denying the immutability of the elements and the properties known hitherto, they ended with the denial of matter, the denial of the objective reality of the external world. By denying the absolute character of the most important and basis laws, they ended in the denial of every objective law...

By insisting on the approximate relative character of our knowledge, they ended in the denial of the object existing independently of cognition, an object which is reflected in knowledge with an approximate degree of truth... Only one thing is, from Engels' standpoint, immutable – the reflexion by the human mind (when the human mind exists) of a world existing and developing independently of the mind .....

## Lenin -- MATERIALISM AND EMPIRICO-CRITICISM

### DIALECTIC AND EVOLUTION

"Dialectic is, in fact, a theory of evolution. It differs profoundly from the vulgar theory of evolution, which is based substantially upon the principle that neither in nature nor in history sudden changes occur, and that all changes taking place in the world occur gradually." Hegel had already shown that, understood in such a sense, the theory of evolution was inconsistent and absurd. "The ordinary notion of the appearance or disappearance of things is the notion of a gradual appearance or disappearance. Nevertheless there are transformations of being which are not only changes from one quality to another, but also changes from qualitative to quantitative."

### WISSENSCHAFT DER LOGIK.

Thus there occurs a change which leads to the substitution of one phenomenon for another, and involves a breach of continuity. Now every time there is a breach of continuity there occurs a sudden change in the course of evolution.

"Notwithstanding all its gradualness," writes Engels in ANTI-DUHRING, "the passage from one kind of motion to another is always a sudden, always a decisive change. Of such a kind is the passage from the mechanics of the heavenly bodies to that of the smaller masses upon a single star, and the passage from the mechanics of the masses to that of the molecules, a mechanics which comprises the movements we study in the domain of the science of physics -- heat, light, electricity and magnetism. In like manner the passage from the physics of molecules to that of atoms (chemistry) is achieved suddenly, and this is still more true with regard to the transition from ordinary chemical action to the

chemical action of albumen, the chemical action which we term life. It is not until a later stage, within the sphere of life, that sudden changes become rarer and are less and less in evidence,

“Nowadays,” comments the Russian Marxist Riazanov, in his notes to Plekhanov's FUNDAMENTALS OF MARXISM, "Planck's theory of quanta has introduced the idea of sudden changes in the domain of electromechanical processes. The quantum itself, the element of energy, is a qualitative difference resulting from quantitative changes. Just as there must be a certain accumulation of money, a quantitative transformation of money, in order to obtain the minimum, the 'quantum' necessary for the transformation of this money into capital, so according to Planck's theory, there must be an accumulation of electrical energy, a qualitative transformation, until we obtain a quantum, an amount of energy that will produce an appreciable effect."

Planck himself writes, “Recent discoveries have shown that the proposition -- that nature makes no jumps -- is not in agreement with the principles of thermodynamics... Nature certainly seems to move in jerks, indeed of a very queer kind... In any case the quantum hypothesis has given rise to the idea that in nature changes occur which are not continuous, but of an explosive nature.”

## SURVEY OF PHYSICS.

### SELECTED READINGS IN MARXISM-- Chapter 2

#### THE MATERIALIST CONCEPTION OF HISTORY

“Becoming aware of the inconsistency, the incompleteness, and the one-sidedness of the older materialism, Marx realized that it was necessary ‘to harmonize the science of society with the material foundation and to reconstruct it in accordance with this foundation.’ If, speaking generally, materialism explains the consciousness as the outcome of existence, and not conversely; in the particular application of this doctrine to the social life of mankind, materialism must explain social existence. ‘Technology,’ writes Marx in the first volume of CAPITAL, ‘discloses the active relationship between man and nature, the immediate process of production of his life; but in addition it discloses his social conditions of life, and the mental products that issue from these.’

#### Marx's Formulation of the Theory

In the PREFACE TO A CONTRIBUTION TO POLITICAL ECONOMY, Marx gives an integral formulation of the fundamental contentions of materialism, as applied to human society and its history. Here are his words: **‘In the social production which human beings carry on, they enter into definite relationships which are determined, that is to say, independently of their will – productive relationships which correspond to a definite evolutionary phase of the material forces of production. The totality of these productive relationships forms the economic structure of society, the real basis upon which a legal and political superstructure develop and to which definite forms of social consciousness correspond. The mode of production of material life determines the general**

character of the social, political, and intellectual processes of life. *It is not the consciousness of human beings that determines their existence, but conversely, it is their social existence that determines their consciousness.*

At a certain stage of development, the material productive forces of society come into conflict with the existing relationships, or (to express the matter in legal terminology) with the property relationships within which they have hitherto moved. These relationships, which have which have previously been developmental forms of the productive forces, now become metamorphosed into fetters upon production. A period of social revolutions then begins. Concomitantly with the change in the economic foundation the whole gigantic superstructure is more or less rapidly transformed. When we contemplate such transformations we must always distinguish:

On the one hand, between the material changes in the economic foundations changes which can be watched and recorded with all the precision proper to natural science; and, on the other, the legal, political, religious, artistic, or philosophical forms (in a word, the ideological forms) in which human beings become aware of this conflict and fight it out to an issue. Just as little as we form an opinion of an individual in accordance with what he thinks of himself, just so little can we appraise a revolutionary epoch in accordance with its own consciousness of itself; for we have to explain this consciousness as the outcome of the contradictions of material life, of the extant conflict between social productive forces and productive relationships. No type of social structure ever perishes, until there have been developed all the productive forces for which it has room; and new and higher forces of production never appear upon the scene, until the material conditions of existence requisite for their development have matured within the womb of the old society. That is why mankind never sets itself any tasks which it is not able to perform; for when we look closely into the matter, we shall always find that the demand for the new enterprise only arises when the material conditions of existence are ripe for its successful performance -- at any rate have begun to ripen. In broad outline we can describe the Asiatic, the classical, the feudal, and the modern (capitalist) forms of production, as progressive epochs in the economic development of society, **Bourgeois relationships of production are the last of the antagonistic forms of the social process of production.** *(These 3 paragraphs the basis of an educational series of 8 lectures--Editor)*

The materialist conception of history, or (to put the matter more precisely) the extension of materialism to the domain of social phenomena, filled the two chief gaps in earlier historical theories. For, **in the first place**, even the best of such theories attended only to the ideological motives of the historical activity of human beings, They made no attempt to discover the origin of these ideological motives, or to grasp the objective conformity to law in the development of the system of social relationships, or to discern the roots of these social relationships in the degree of the development of material production. **In the second place**, the earlier historical theories ignored the working masses of the population, and historical materialism first made it possible to study with scientific accuracy the social conditions of the life of the masses and to trace the changes in these conditions. In the best event, pre-Marxist "sociology" and historiography gave an accumulation of dry facts, collected in fragments; and supplied a description of isolated aspects of the historical process. Marx pointed out the way to a comprehensive, and all embracing study of the process of the genesis, the development, and the decay

of social and economic structures; showing how all opposing tendencies could be combined, and could be brought into relationship with precise determining conditions in the mode of life and the method of production among the various classes of society; discarding subjectivism and free-will in the choice of distinct “leading” ideas or in the explanation of these; showing how all the ideas, and all the tendencies, without exception, had their roots in the condition of the various forces of production.

How people make their own history; what determines their motives, or at any rate the motives of people in the mass; what gives rise to the clash of conflicting ideas and endeavors; what is the sum total of all these clashes among human societies; what are the objective conditions of production ( the material conditions of life) that form the basis of people's historical activity; what is the law of the development of those conditions -- to all these matters Marx directed attention, pointing out the way to a scientific study of history as a unified and law-abiding process despite its apparent multiplicity and contradictoriness.

That in every society the wishes of some of the members conflict with the wishes of others; that social life is full of clashes; that history discloses to us a struggle among peoples and societies and also within each nation and each society, manifesting in addition the alternation between periods of war and peace, revolution and reaction, of acceleration and retardation of progress or regression -- these facts are generally known. Marx provides a clue which enables us to discover the reign of law in this seeming labyrinth, this apparent chaos. **His clue is the theory of class struggle.** Nothing but the study of the totality of the impulses of all the members of a given society or group of societies, can lead to the scientific determination of the result of these impulses. Now the conflict of impulses depends upon differences in the conditions of life of the classes into which society is divided.

“The history of all human society, past and present, has been the history of class struggle” wrote Marx in 1848 in the COMMUNIST MANIFESTO. (In a note to later editions Engels pointed out that primitive Communism formed an exception to this generalization) “Freemen and slaves, patrician and plebeian, baron and serf, guild-burgess and journeyman -- in a word, oppressor and oppressed -- stood in sharp opposition to each other. They carried on perpetual warfare, sometimes masked, sometimes open and acknowledged; a warfare that invariably ended, either in a revolutionary change in the whole structure of society, or else in the common ruin of the contending classes. Modern bourgeois society, rising out of the ruins of feudal society, did not make an end of class antagonisms. It merely set up new classes in place of the old; new conditions of oppression, new embodiments of struggle. Our own age, the bourgeois age, is distinguished this -- that it has simplified class antagonisms. More and more, society is splitting up into two great hostile camps, into two great and directly contraposed classes; bourgeois and proletariat.

Among all the classes that confront the bourgeois today, the proletariat alone is really revolutionary. All other classes decay and perish with the rise of large-scale industry, but the proletariat is the most characteristic product of that industry. The lower middle class – small manufacturers, small traders, handicraftsmen, peasant proprietors -- one and all fight the bourgeoisie in the hope of safeguarding their existence as sections of the middle class. They are, therefore, not revolutionary, but conservative. Nay more, they are reactionary for they are trying to make the wheels of history turn



backwards. If they ever become revolutionary it is only because they are afraid of slipping down into the ranks of the proletariat; they are not defending their present interests but their future interests; they are forsaking their own standpoint in order to adopt that of the proletariat.

Since the time of the great French Revolution the class struggle as the essential motive force of history has been more than usually manifest in all the countries of Europe. During the restoration period in France, there were already several historians (Thierry, Guizot, and Thiers, for instance) who could not but recognize in the class struggle the key to the understanding of all the history of France. In the modern age -- the epoch of complete victory of the bourgeoisie, of representative institutions, extended (where not universal) suffrage, cheap and widely circulated daily newspapers, powerful and ever-expanding organizations of workers and employers etc. -- the class struggle, though sometimes in a peaceful and constitutional form has shown itself still more obviously to be the mainspring of events. In a number of historical works Marx, on the basis of the materialist conception of history, gave brilliant and profound examples of historical studies containing an analysis of the position of each separate class, and sometimes of that of various groups and strata within a class showing plainly why and how **“every class struggle is a political struggle.”** He disclosed the structure of the network of social phenomena, showing the transition stages between one class and another, between the past and the future, and drew up the balance sheet of the resulting historical evolution. Marx's economic doctrines are a more profound, more many-sided, and more detailed confirmation of the forgoing theory,”

Lenin – MARXISM pp 122 - 129 supra

## ENGELS' FORMULATION OF THE THEORY

The materialist conception of history starts from the proposition that the production of the means to support human life and, next to production, the exchange of things produced, is the basis of all social structure; that in every society that has appeared in history, the manner in which wealth is distributed and society divided into classes or orders, is dependent upon what is produced, how it is produced, and how the products are exchanged. From this point of view the final causes of all social changes and political revolutions are to be sought, not in men's brains, not in man's better insight into eternal truth and justice, but in changes in the modes of production and exchange. They are to be sought, not in the **philosophy** but in the **economics** of each particular epoch. The growing perception that existing social institutions are unreasonable and unjust, that reason has become unreason, and right wrong, is only proof that the modes of production and exchange changes have silently taken place, with which the social order, adapted to earlier economic conditions, is no longer in keeping. From this it also follows that the means of getting rid of the incongruities that have been brought to light, must also be present, in a more or less developed condition, within the changed modes of production themselves. These means are not to be invented by deduction from fundamental principles, but are to be discovered in the stubborn facts of the existing system of production.

What is, then, the position of modern Socialism in this connection ?

The present structure of society -- this is now pretty generally conceded -- is the creation of the ruling class of today, of the bourgeoisie. The mode of production peculiar to the bourgeoisie, known,

since Marx, as the capitalist mode of production, was incompatible with the feudal system, with the privileges it conferred upon individuals, entire social ranks and local corporations, as well as with the hereditary ties of subordination which constituted the framework of the social organization. The bourgeoisie broke up the feudal system and built upon its ruins the capitalist order of society, the kingdom of free competition, of personal liberty, of the equality, before the law, of all commodity owners, of all the rest of the capitalist blessings. Thenceforward the capitalist mode of production could develop in freedom. Since steam, machinery, and the making of machines by machinery transformed the older manufacture into modern industry, the productive forces evolved under the guidance of the bourgeoisie developed with a rapidity and in a degree unheard of before. But just as in the older manufacture, in its time, and handicraft, becoming more developed under its influence had come into collision with the feudal trammels of the guilds, so now modern industry, in its more complete development, comes into collision with the bounds within which the capitalist mode of production holds it confined. The new productive forces have already outgrown the capitalistic mode of using them. And this conflict between productive forces and modes of production is not a conflict engendered in the mind of man, like that between original sin and divine justice. It exists, in fact objectively, outside us, independently of the will and actions even of the men who brought it on. Modern Socialism is nothing but the reflex, in thought, of this conflict in fact; its ideal reflection in the minds, first, of the class directly suffering under it, the working class.”

Engels - SOCIALISM: UTOPIAN AND SCIENTIFIC pp 66 - 68

## THE THEORY APPLIED TO THE HISTORY OF THE BOURGEOIS REVOLUTION

When Europe emerged from the Middle Ages, the rising middle-class of the towns constituted its revolutionary element. It had conquered a recognized position within medieval feudal organization, but this position, also, had become too narrow for its expansive power. The development of the middle-class, the bourgeoisie, became incompatible with the maintenance of the feudal system; the feudal system, therefore, had to fall.

But the great international centre of feudalism was the Roman Catholic Church. It united the whole of feudalized Western Europe, in spite of all internal wars, into one grand political system, opposed as much to the schismatic Greeks as to the Mohammedan countries. It surrounded feudal institutions with the halo of divine consecration. It had organized its own hierarchy on the feudal model, and, lastly, it was itself by far the most powerful feudal lord, holding, as it did, fully one-third of the soil of the Catholic world. Before profane feudalism could be successively attacked in each country and in detail, this, its sacred central organization had to be destroyed.

Moreover, parallel with the rise of the middle-class went on the great revival of science; astronomy, mechanics, physics, anatomy, physiology, were again cultivated. And the bourgeoisie, for the development of its industrial production, required a science which ascertained the physical properties of natural objects and the modes of action of the forces of Nature. Now up to then science had but been allowed to overstep the limits set by faith, and for that reason there had been no science at all. Science

had rebelled against the church; the bourgeoisie could not do without science and, therefore, had to join the rebellion.

The above, though touch but two of the points where the ruling middle class was bound to come into collision with established religion, will be sufficient to show, first, that the class most directly interested in the struggle against the pretensions of the Roman Church was the bourgeoisie; and second, that every struggle against feudalism, at the time, had to take on a religious disguise, had to be directed against the church in the first instance. But if the universities and the traders of the cities started the cry it was sure to find, and did find, a strong echo in the masses of the country people, the peasants, who everywhere had to struggle for their very existence against their feudal lords, spiritual and temporal.

The long fight of the bourgeoisie against feudalism culminated in **three great, decisive battles.**

## THE PROTESTANT REFORMATION

The **first** was what is called the Protestant Reformation in Germany . The war-cry raised against the church by Luther was responded to by two insurrections of a political nature: first, that of the lower nobility under Franz von Sickingen( 1523) , then the great Peasants' War, 1525 . Both were defeated, chiefly in consequence of the indecision of the parties most interested, the burghers of the towns -- an indecision into the causes of which we cannot here enter. From that moment the struggle degenerated into a fight between the local princes and the central power, and ended by blotting out Germany, for two hundred years from the politically active nations of Europe. The Lutheran reformation produced a new creed indeed, a religion adapted to absolute monarchy . No sooner were the peasants of North-east Germany converted to Lutheranism than they were from freemen reduced to serfs.

But where Luther failed, Calvin won the day. Calvin's creed was one fit for the boldest of the bourgeoisie of his time. His predestination doctrine was the religious expression of the fact that in the commercial world of competition success or failure does not depend upon a man's activity or cleverness, but upon circumstances uncontrollable by him. It is not of him that willeth or of him that runneth, but of the mercy of unknown superior economic powers; and this was especially true at a period of economic revolution, when all old commercial routes and centres were replaced by new ones, when India and America were opened to the world, and when even the most sacred economic articles of faith -- the value of gold and silver -- began to totter and break down. Calvin's church constitution was thoroughly democratic and republican; and where the kingdom of God was republicanized, could the kingdoms of the world remain subject to monarchs, bishops, and lords? While German Lutheranism became a willing tool in the hands of princes, Calvinism founded a republic in Holland, and active republican parties in England, and, above all, Scotland.

## PURITANISM (*England – Ed.*)

In Calvinism, **the second great bourgeois upheaval** found its doctrine ready cut and dried. This upheaval took place in England. The middle-class of the towns brought it on, and the yeomanry of the country districts fought it out. Curiously enough, in all the three great bourgeois risings, the peasantry

furnishes the army that has to do the fighting; and the peasantry is just the class that, the victory once gained, is most surely ruined by the economic consequences of the victory. A hundred years after Cromwell, the yeomanry of England had almost disappeared. Anyhow, had it not been for that yeomanry and for **the plebeian element** in the towns, the bourgeoisie alone would never have fought the matter out to the bitter end, and would never have brought Charles I to the scaffold. In order to secure even those conquests of the bourgeoisie that were ripe for gathering at the time, the revolution had to be carried considerably further -- exactly as in 1793 in France and in 1848 in Germany. This seems, in fact, to be one of the laws of evolution of bourgeois society.

Well, upon this excess of revolutionary activity there necessarily followed the inevitable reaction which in its turn went beyond the point where it might have maintained itself. After a series of oscillations, the new centre of gravity was at last attained and became a new starting point. The grand period of English history, known to respectability under the name of 'the Great Rebellion', and the struggles succeeding it, were brought to a close by the comparatively puny event entitled by Liberal historians, 'The Glorious Revolution.'

The new starting point was a compromise between the rising middle class and the ex-feudal landowners. The latter, though called, as now, the aristocracy had been long since on the way which led them to become what Louis Philippe in France became at a much later period, 'the first bourgeois of the kingdom.' Fortunately for England, the old feudal barons had killed one another during the Wars of the Roses. Their successors, though mostly scions of the old families, had been so much out of the direct line of descent that they constituted quite a new body, with habits and tendencies far more bourgeois than feudal. They fully understood the value of money, and at once began to increase their rents by turning hundreds of small farmers out and replacing them by sheep. Henry VIII, while squandering the Church lands, created fresh bourgeois landlords by wholesale: the innumerable confiscations of estates, re-granted to absolute or relative upstarts and continued during the whole of the seventeenth century had the same result. Consequently, ever since Henry VII, the English 'aristocracy', far from counteracting the development of industrial production, had, on the contrary, sought to indirectly profit thereby; and there had always been a section of the great land-owners willing, from economical or political reasons, to cooperate with the leading men of the industrial and financial bourgeoisie. The compromise of 1689 was, therefore, easily accomplished. The political spoils of 'pelf and place' were left to the great land-owning families, provided the economic interests of the financial, manufacturing and commercial middle-class were sufficiently attended to. And these economic interests were at that time powerful enough to determine the general policy of the nation. There might be squabbles about matters of detail, but, on the whole, the aristocratic oligarchy knew too well that its own economic prosperity was irretrievably bound up with that of the industrial and commercial middle-class.

From that time on, the bourgeoisie was a humble, but still a recognized component of the ruling classes of England. With the rest of them, it had a common interest in keeping in subjection the great working mass of the nation. The merchant or manufacturer himself stood in the position of master, or, as it was until lately called, of 'natural superior' to his clerks, his work people, his domestic servants. His interest was to get as much and as good work out of them as he could; for this end they had to be trained to proper submission. He was himself religious; his religion had supplied the standard under which he had fought the king and the lords; he was not long in discovering the opportunities this same religion

offered him for working upon the minds of his natural inferiors, and making them submissive to the behests of the masters it had pleased God to place over them. In short, the English bourgeoisie had now to take part in keeping down the 'lower orders', the great producing mass of the nation, and one of the means employed for that purpose was the influence of religion.

There was another fact that contributed to strengthen the religious leanings of the bourgeoisie. That was the rise of materialism in England. This new doctrine not only shocked the pious feelings of the middle-class; it announced itself as a philosophy only fit for scholars and cultivated men of the world, in contrast to religion which was good enough for the uneducated masses, including the bourgeoisie. With Hobbes it stepped on the stage as a defender of royal prerogatives and omnipotence; it called upon absolute monarchy to keep down that '*puer robustus sed malitiosus*,' to wit, the people. Similarly with the successors of Hobbes, with Bolingbroke, Shaftesbury, etc., the new deistic form of materialism remained an aristocratic, esoteric doctrine, and, therefore, hateful to the middle class both for its religious heresy and for its anti-bourgeois political connections. Accordingly, in opposition to the materialism and deism of the aristocracy, those Protestant sects which had furnished the flag and the fighting contingent against the Stuarts, continued to furnish the main strength of the progressive middle-class, and form even today the backbone of 'the Great Liberal Party.'

### (Third) THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

In the meantime materialism passed from England to France, where it met and coalesced with another materialistic school of philosophers, a branch of Cartesianism. In France, too, it remained at first an exclusively aristocratic doctrine. But soon its revolutionary character asserted itself. The French materialists did not limit their criticism to matters of religious belief; they extended it to whatever scientific tradition and political

institution they met with; and to prove the claim of their doctrine to universal application they took the shortest cut and boldly applied it to all subjects of knowledge in the giant work after which they were named – the *ENCYCLOPÉDIE*. Thus, in one or other of its two forms -- materialism or deism -- it became the creed of the whole cultured youth of France; so much so that when the great Revolution broke out, the doctrine hatched by English loyalists gave a theoretical flag to the French Republicans and Terrorists, and furnished the text for the Declaration of the Rights of Man. The Great French Revolution was the third uprising of the bourgeoisie; but the first that had entirely cast off the religious cloak, and was fought out on undisguised political lines: it was the first, too, that was really fought out to the destruction of one of the combatants, the aristocracy, and the complete triumph of the other, the bourgeoisie. In England the continuity of pre-revolutionary and post-revolutionary institutions, and the compromise between the landlords and the capitalists, found its expression in the continuity of judicial procedure and in the religious preservation of the feudal forms of the law. In France the Revolution constituted a complete breach with the traditions of the past; it cleared out the very last vestige of feudalism, and created in the '*Code Civil*' a masterly adaptation of the old Roman law -- that almost perfect expression of the juridical relations corresponding to the economic stage called by Marx the production of commodities -- to modern capitalistic conditions; so masterly that this French revolutionary code still serves as a model for reforms of the law of property in all other countries, not

excepting England. Let us however not forget that if the English law continues to express the economic relations of capitalistic society in that barbarous feudal language that corresponds to the thing expressed, just as English spelling corresponds to English pronunciation – “vous écrivez Londres et vous prononcez Constantinople,” said a Frenchman -- that same English law is the only one which has preserved through ages, and transmitted to America and the colonies the best part of that old Germanic personal freedom, local self-government, and independence from all interference but that of the law-courts, which on the continent has been lost during the period of absolute monarchy, and has nowhere been as yet fully recovered.

To return to our English bourgeois, the French Revolution gave him a splendid opportunity, with the help of the Continental monarchies, to destroy French maritime commerce, to annex French colonies; and to crush the last French pretensions to maritime rivalry. That was one reason why he fought it, Another was that the ways of this revolution went very much against his grain, Not only its 'execrable' terrorism, but the very attempt to carry bourgeois rule to extremes. What should the English bourgeois do without his aristocracy, that taught him manners, such as they were, and invented fashions for him -- that furnished officers for the army, which kept order at home, and the navy, which conquered colonial possessions and new markets abroad? There was indeed a progressive minority of the bourgeoisie, that minority whose interests were not so well attended to under the compromise; this section, composed chiefly of the less wealthy middle-class did sympathise with the revolution, but was powerless in Parliament.

Thus, if materialism became the creed of the French Revolution, the God-fearing English bourgeois held all the faster to his religion. Had not the reign of terror in Paris proved what was the upshot, if the religious instincts of the masses were lost? The more materialism spread from France to neighbouring countries, and was reinforced by similar doctrinal currents, notably by German philosophy, the more, in fact, materialism and free-thought became, on the Continent, the qualifications of a cultivated man, the more stubbornly the English middle-class stuck to its manifold religious creeds. These creeds might differ from one another, but they were, all of them, distinctly religious, Christian creeds.

## THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

While the Revolution ensured the political triumph of the bourgeoisie in France, in England Watt, Arkwright, Cartwright, and others, initiated an industrial revolution, which completely shifted the centre of gravity of economic power. The wealth of the bourgeoisie increased considerably faster than that of the landed aristocracy. Within the bourgeoisie itself, the financial aristocracy, the bankers, etc., were more and more pushed into the background by the manufacturers. The compromise of 1689, even after the gradual changes it had undergone in favor of the bourgeoisie, no longer corresponded to the relative position of the parties to it. The character of the parties, too, had changed; the bourgeoisie of 1830 was very different from that of the preceding century. The political power still left to the aristocracy, and used by them to resist the pretensions of the new industrial bourgeoisie, became incompatible with the new economic interests. A fresh struggle the aristocracy was necessary; it could

end only in the victory of the new economic power. First, the Reform Act was pushed through, in spite of all resistance, under the impulse of the French Revolution of 1830. It gave to the bourgeoisie a recognized and powerful place in Parliament. Then the Repeal of the Corn Laws, which settled, once for all, the supremacy of the bourgeoisie, and especially of its most active portion, the manufacturers, over the landed aristocracy. This was the greatest victory of the bourgeoisie; it was, however, also the last it gained in its own exclusive interest. Whatever triumphs it gained later on it had to share with a new social power, first its ally, but soon its rival.

The industrial revolution had created a class of large manufacturing capitalists, but also a class -- and a far more numerous one -- of manufacturing work-people. This class gradually increased in numbers, in proportion as the industrial revolution seized upon one branch of manufacturer after another, and in the same proportion it increased in power. This power it proved as early as 1824, by forcing a reluctant Parliament to repeal acts forbidding combinations of workmen. During the Reform agitation, the workingmen constituted the Radical wing of the Reform party; the Act of 1832 having excluded them from the suffrage, they formulated their demands in the People's Charter, and constituted themselves, in opposition to the great bourgeois Anti-Corn Law party, into an independent party, the Chartists, the first working-men's party of modern times.

## THE REVOLUTION OF 1848

Then came the Continental revolutions of February and March, 1848, in which the working people played such a prominent part, and, at least, in Paris, put forward demands which were certainly inadmissible from the point of view of capitalistic society. And then came the general reaction. First the defeat of the Chartists on the 10th April, 1848, then the crushing of the Paris working-men's insurrection in June of the same year, then the disasters of 1849 in Italy, Hungary, South Germany, and at last the victory of Louis Bonaparte over Paris, 2nd December, 1851. For a time, at least, the bugbear of working-class pretensions was put down, but at what cost! If the British bourgeois had been convinced before of the necessity of maintaining the common people in a religious mood, how much more must he feel that necessity after all these experiences? Regardless of the sneers of his continental compeers, he continued to spend thousands and tens of thousands, year after year upon the evangelization of the lower orders; not content with his own native religious machinery, he appealed to Brother Jonathan, the greatest organizer of religion as a trade, and imported from America revivalism, Moody and Sankey, and the like; and, finally, he accepted the dangerous aid of the Salvation Army which revives the propaganda of early Christianity, appeals to the poor as the elect, fights capitalism in a religious way, and thus fosters an element of early Christian class antagonism which one day may become troublesome to the well-to-do people who now find the ready money for it.

It seems a law of historical development that the bourgeoisie can in no European country get hold of the political power -- at least for any length of time -- in the same exclusive way in which the feudal aristocracy kept hold of it during the Middle Ages. Even in France, where feudalism was completely extinguished, the bourgeoisie, as a whole, has held full possession of the government for very short periods only. During Louis Philippe's reign, 1830 - 48, a very small portion of the bourgeoisie ruled the kingdom; by far the larger part were excluded from the suffrage by the high qualification. Under the

second Republic, 1848 - 51, the whole bourgeoisie ruled, but for three years only; their incapacity brought on the second Empire. It is only now, in the third Republic, that the bourgeoisie as a whole have kept possession of the helm for more than twenty years: and they are already showing signs of lively decadence. A durable reign of the bourgeoisie has been possible only in countries like America, where feudalism was unknown, and society from the very beginning started from a bourgeois basis. And even in France and America, the successors of the bourgeoisie, the working people, are already knocking at the door.”

Engels - SOCIALISM, UTOPIAN AND SCIENTIFIC *pp.* 16 - 28.





.1932-1 "Anti-fascist parade July 11, 1932-33" -- Free Mooney and the Scottsboro Boys" -- ILO-Intl. Left Opposition -- Trotskyist



## Statement of Jack MacDonald

*Jack MacDonald's "Statement" announcing his adherence to the Trotskyist Left Opposition originally appeared in The Militant (New York), May 28, 1932.*

After a careful and extensive study not only in retrospect of the pre-October polemics and activities of Bolshevism and the literature and general ideological activity of the Communist International, particularly up to the death of its founder and leader—Lenin—and the opening of the struggle against "Trotskyism", but also of the more immediate and pressing situations and struggles of today, viz., Germany, China, Spain, etc., and the official C.I. programs, strategy and tactics therein, I have become convinced that the position, program and general criticism of the "Left Opposition" under the brilliant, untiring and courageous leadership of comrade Trotsky are fundamentally correct; and that the Left Opposition is the historical bearer and custodian of true Marxist-Leninism.

In this necessarily brief statement I have no intention of reviewing at length the attitude of the Canadian Party during my association with its leadership or my personal attitude during the "discussion" and subsequent fight against "Trotskyism".

Suffice it to say, that the ideological campaign against Trotskyism—charged with the attempt to revise Leninism—consisted of the scant distribution among the membership of occasional official bulletins from the C.I. containing alleged excerpts from the writings and speeches of Trotsky, counterposed with the official "true Leninist" rebuttal from the leading scribes of the International.

Honest comrades, with their faith in the revolutionary integrity of the central leadership unimpaired and who therefore resent and reject any suggestion of bureaucratic intrigue, falsification or degeneration, accept these official communications at their face value and act accordingly; search with the official microscope, flaying and uprooting in the name of Communist discipline and democratic centralism any tendencies, deviations, or (suspicions) that would weaken or dilute the revolutionary movement in the face of its class enemies. In this so-called ideological campaign (if self-criticism is still in vogue) I accept my full share of responsibility and error and admit its travesty. What organizational and ideological crimes have been committed in the name of discipline!

For some time I have had occasion to compare these "excerpts" as published in official bulletins, with the actual writings of Trotsky. Many are completely false; others torn from their context are deliberately misinterpreted; while others correct in text are presumably demolished with the dud bombs of anti-Leninist theory.

I recall the first appeal which came to the C.E.C. of the Canadian Party to record itself against the Russian Party Opposition. This was during a session of the Enlarged Executive of the C.I.—a Canadian delegate being in attendance. The delegate had recorded himself against. Why not? There are few exceptions. A cable was dispatched to Canada requesting the C.E.C. to solidarize itself with the majority. Little if anything was known by the Canadian Party of the theoretical substance of the questions at issue. No liaison was in existence in those days where one could imbibe the latest on tap through "Lenin" students, etc. This honest unschooled proletarian center dispatched a return cable withholding decision until adequate information pro and con was received by them. The Canadian center fell into very bad grace over this incident. They might at least have adopted the course of one C.E.C. member, who, being unable to be present wired the C.E.C. to record his vote against Trotsky, but protested lack of information.

In brief the so-called question of Trotskyism was approached in a purely superficial and bureaucratic manner. This was in the days prior to deportations, exiles, etc. How far the regime has developed bureaucratically since those days must be obvious to all sincere comrades.

It is positively criminal in the best revolutionary sense to close one's mind against the Left Opposition's trenchant criticism and charges of the growth of a bureaucratic regime in the C.I. The autocratic and mechanical removal and superimposition of leadership on sections of the Comintern; the hounding of old and tested bolsheviks on the pretext of some discovered heresy in writing or speech, but in reality to make way for a substantial prop for the present regime, the stifling of initiative and discussion, the parody of workers' universities where "leaders" are molded and manufactured to standard current pattern, etc., are evidences, if only in an organizational and limited sense, of the truth of this criticism.

One had only to attend the Sixth Congress of the C.I. and that was several years ago, to have proof of the opposition's contention in its broad international sense, not to mention the alarming bureaucratic growth since in virtually every section nor the tragedy of the internal party situation in the Soviet Union. I have a vivid recollection of this "corridor" congress. I recall the session of the Standing Committee where the Pol-Bureau of the C.P.S.U. made its declaration, drawn from it, in its own words because the delegations were "speculating" on the rumored differences within the Bureau. No such principle differences existed, ran the declaration signed by all member of the bureau and implemented by remarks from Stalin and Bucharin. Hardly had the delegations reached home before news broke out that not only were there principle differences, but that actual factions existed. And this after the lie had been given to delegates who had probed beneath the surface of official declarations and reported the existence of groupings and factions.

The creation of the "third period" at the Sixth Congress, as justification for the left about-face, unquestionably under the blows of the opposition—a period that has apparently passed into history or been conveniently forgotten to avoid the creation of a "fourth" period; the rejection of the united front tactic with the non-party workers organizations in the slogan of the "united front from below", as an apology for the unprincipled maneuvering with the leaders of the Social Democratic and reformist trade union organizations; the tragic and catastrophic caricature of a bolshevist-Leninist policy in China, with its complete subordination of the Communist Party to Chiang Kai-shek and its corollary of subsequent adventurist and putschist insurrection; the eclectic and mechanical creation of the "war danger", which led the parties to orientate their activities solely on the imminence of war from which the proletarian revolution would be born; the swing back to the "right" with its glaring legalistic and parliamentary activity, just as the world economic crisis broke, only to find the parties isolated from the consequences to a great extent of the third period tactics; the acrobatics on trade union policy, etc., etc.—all this is at least ample proof of the zig-zag centrist policy of the present regime.

The appalling debacle of the Communist forces in the recent German presidential election with the enormous growth of the Fascist forces; the almost complete isolation of the party from the trade unions; its insignificant influence over the social-democratic workers despite the deep internal crisis in Germany; the theory of "social Fascism"; the flirting, to put it mildly, with certain Fascist leaders; the apparent developing theory that a Fascist victory with its demagogic program and slogans means rapid disillusionment of the workers, which will be followed by a flocking to the Communist standard, Italy, Poland, etc., notwithstanding; all this in the German situation if nothing else must impel a general stocktaking and inner searching in the ranks of Communism.

One looks in vain for any keen analysis of these phenomena in the official Communist Press. In the Canadian "Worker" after the first presidential vote in Germany, there appeared a leading editorial that for trifling, irresponsible, poltroonish approach is, I believe, without parallel. Two main points were made. Firstly, the Opposition was "disarmed" with the assertion many times repeated that the "renegades" would possibly find cause to rejoice. Just why, wasn't stated. Secondly, finally and primarily, the most outstanding and significant result of the election was the gain of half a million Communist votes over last election. What humbug! The second vote with its loss of over a million Communist votes, still remains to be "explained", so far as I am aware.

The wealth of literature issued by the Left Opposition from the pen of Trotsky is something that no worker or student of Marxism or Leninism can afford to ignore or neglect. One listens in vain for the voice of Stalin on the outstanding events of today. Here in the opposition press and literature every question is approached and analyzed, clearly, fearlessly and dialectically. I recollect how in certain so-called discussions we used to blast and damn the theory of Trotsky's Permanent Revolution with an arsenal of quotations

given to us by Bucharin. How the polemical differences between Lenin and Trotsky were magnified. How Trotsky underestimated or denied the role of the peasantry. How he would leap across historical stages. "Down with the Czar!" "Up with the Labor Government!" How during Lenin's leadership he was held in check and did great service for the revolution. But since Lenin died his old false theories had cropped up again, his old Permanent Revolution which was the source of all evil.

Every worker today can read Trotsky's Permanent Revolution for himself. Let us understand what the "differences" between Lenin and Trotsky were on the role of the peasantry, the "democratic dictatorship", etc. Acquire a knowledge of the rearming of the Party on the return of Lenin to Russia before October—in short have done with fabrication and misrepresentation and read history.

***The theory of the Permanent Revolution is not an attempt at a leap of the proletariat over definite historical stages, but the transformation of the nation under the leadership of the proletariat. Here I may quote section two of the fundamental thesis of the Permanent Revolution: "With regard to the countries with a belated bourgeois development, especially the colonial and semi-colonial countries, the theory of the permanent revolution signifies that the complete and genuine solution of their tasks, democratic and national emancipation, is conceivable only through the dictatorship of the proletariat as the leader of the subjugated nation, above all of the peasant masses." The tasks of the "democratic dictatorship of the proletariat" were realized not before October, not in the "dual power", but by October—through the dictatorship of the proletariat supported by the poor peasants. (Emphasis by the Editors)***

It will be instructive at some other time to retrace the directives to the Canadian Party, given by the opponents of the Permanent Revolution in their desire to find historical stages that might not be "skipped over". These run the whole gamut, from the fight against the British monarchy, demand for constituent assembly, farmer-labor government, farmers political parties, national independence, etc., etc.

***I reject the theory of national socialism—of socialism in one country—evolved in the struggle against Trotsky in 1925, as contrary to all the teachings of Marx and Lenin. The inevitable social patriotic errors that the Left Opposition warned against are strikingly evident today. The appeal to the international proletariat against Japanese Imperialism, in its general formulation is a recent indication of this. A still more recent example is the advancement by the Daily Worker of the justification (based on an article in Izvestia) of an alliance between the Soviet Union and American Imperialism against Japanese Imperialism. The propaganda and agitation surrounding the slogan of "Defend the Soviet Union" is saturated with pacifism. All this is the logical outcome of***

***the false theory of "socialism in one country".*** (*Emphasis by the Editors*)

This statement is made in support of the Left Opposition after thoroughly probing all doubts and reservations, slowly, calmly and deliberately. I make it with the sincere hope that any influence I may have with the workers, through my association with and work in the working class movement in this country, may lead the advanced workers to a critical examination of the Communist movement today, in all its ramifications, theoretical, organizational, strategical and otherwise; and to an examination of the literature and theoretical position of the Left Opposition and particularly to the works of Trotsky.

From this I am convinced there will inevitably come again another "rearming" of the movement—a re-establishment of the advance guard of the international working class movement, on the solid bed-rock of the theories of Marx and Lenin.

—J. MacDONALD



(Feb. 1934)

# Lords and Ladies!

## (New Methods of Fighting Fascism)

In a recent issue of the "Worker" we are informed that: "The Canadian Section of International Committee against Fascism is now beginning its activity. It has received all information and directives from the International Committee headed by Lord Marley, member of the British House of Lords, and will be in close contact with that committee. The members of the Committee include, among others, David Goldstick, Salem Bland, Huntley Torden, J. F. White and other prominent liberal-minded public men of Toronto."

The Committee will issue much printed material "to acquaint Canadians with the events in Germany," etc. "Another important activity will be the touring of a prominent member of the British Section of the Lord Marley Committee throughout Canada--"

A few questions might be in order from the workers. Who are the prominent liberal-minded men on the Committee? Who are among the others? Who formed the Committee and how was it formed? Were working class organizations invited to participate in the organization of this committee? If so, when, where and what organizations were there? And lastly who in hell is Lord Marley and how can his Committee fight Fascism?

A rousing protest against this so-called anti-fascist activity must resound throughout the whole working class movement. Lord Marley (a real Lord, and member of the British House of Lords) has been selected by Stalinism as the international leader against war, fascism and what-not. Stalinism pursues its bastardly course, strewn with alliances and committees of all sorts, with bourgeois "liberals" and "intellectuals," under the guise of fighting this and fighting that. The Lord Marley committee, is a Stalinist Committee let there be no doubt or hum-bug about this. Lord Marley committee can neither fight war nor Fascism, this can only be done by the working class. Stalin's "anti" committees must be thrown into the garbage heap by the workers. If not, soon we will have anti-capitalist committees, headed by Lords, ladies and other trash. Only a broad, genuine, united front of all working class organizations, organized locally, nationally and internationally can fight fascism and defend

their democratic rights. Did it require a Lord Marley committee to bring fifteen thousand workers into the streets of Toronto, in a parade to Queen's Park, in a mighty protest against fascism?

What worker today does not know of the horrors perpetrated in Germany? How was it possible and how can it be avoided in other countries? How can Hitler in Power be now fought. These are the questions the worker is interested in and justly so.

Stalin also wanted to fight war with Prof. Albert Einstein who accepted membership on the original committee. Another British peer, Earl Russell was wheedled onto the committee. Much use was made by the Stalinists of the name of Einstein. Yes! He was a pacifist BUT he was prepared to resist preparations for a new war. But unfortunately the "simple minded" Einstein discovered the committee, was a "communist" controlled committee and he spectacularly broke his relations with it. And then the "Earl" followed Einstein's exit. Let us quote Russell;

"I severed my connections with the anti-war movement some time ago as soon as I discovered that it was a communist body in disguise. This had been concealed from me at first, by an impressive list of non-communist names and by the title of the organization, which as I subsequently discovered, by no means correctly represented its aims."

Do the Canadian workers know what Maria Reewe, German Communist Deputy in the Reichstag has to say about this kind of activity? She terms it "Committee-Politics."

"Your Committee-Politics", she says, "has now completely divorced you from the mass movement, with which you, as representatives of the bureaucratic party machine have long ago lost all contact. Through your sectarian policy of the last few years, you have failed to bring about a mass movement in Germany or internationally. On the contrary despite the revolutionization of the masses, you have weakened yourselves. In despair, you are now seeking succor in the arms of Lords and Countesses, just as the Social Democrats did with Brüning and Hindenburg."



"Your opportunism is so incurable that you can no longer conceive that I am fighting against 'Committee-Politics' in PRINCIPLE. That is why you have told your bourgeois 'comrades-in-arms' that I insult them because I have opposed your putting them up as the standard bearers of anti-fascism, through which you deceive the working class."

"When fascism advances in these countries it meets with no resistance from your bourgeois 'comrades-in-arms'."

"You have sabotaged my work for the Red Aid from the beginning, because the Huonzenberg Committee-treasury, which is not controlled by any workers organization but only subordinates itself to a few of his confidants,-- is much more pleasant. Thus Huonzenberg and yourself have always been able to hide behind the excuse that Lord this or Lord that did not want this or that, which is in the interest of the working class."

During the summer of this year, Lord Harley and a few other notables journeyed to China, where they endeavored to organize an anti-war congress in Shanghai. Till late fall, nothing had been accomplished. The noble Lord may still be there for all we know and for all the workers care. He addressed a gathering of the Shanghai Rotary Club in an attempt to break down "prejudices" that existed against the Committee. But why continue?

Any attempt to form such a committee in Canada must be exposed for what it is and blown sky-high by the workers. A fight against the menace of fascism? Yes! A fight for the maintenance of "democracy." Yes! For free speech, assemblage, organization, press, meetings, suffrage, etc., etc.? Yes, all these! But how? By United Fronts, conferences, committees, meetings, and actions of the workers through their organizations, political and economic.

But no committees "from the top" and bourgeois committees at that.

Away with your Lord Harley Committees!  
Up with the fighting unity of the workers!

Jack McDonald,



\*Note by R.D.  
(See p. 2)

\* I think that this reflects  
the factional struggle initiated  
by the developing Fieldites  
in the Cdn movement against the  
Spartan leadership - RD

TORONTO,  
February 19, 1934.

The International Left Opposition,  
Toronto Branch.

Dear Comrades:

At meeting of the Central unit of the SYC on February 18th, motion was formally passed that the SYC send a protest to the LO asking for more co-operation in our work.

I have been instructed to report this to you and also the circumstances that gave rise to this motion and the discussion that took place.

The following are the reasons for this motion:

1. Delegates at Conferences

At the recent A.E. Smith United Front Conference, only the SYC delegates were present. This conference was, as you know, of considerable importance and had LO delegates been present we feel that it was very possible to have had one elected to the Action Committee and to speak at the Massey Hall meeting. At the less important Anti-Section 98 Conference, but one which could not be overlooked, one LO delegate arrived about 2 hours late. Participation in this kind of work, we feel will help put our organizations before the eyes of the workers and show that we are sincere in our desire to participate in their struggles.

2. Distribution of literature

In the work of distributing literature, while the SYC realizes that the greater part of this work should be carried out by its members, it feels that a certain amount of this work could and should be done by those comrades in the LO who have the time and are in circumstances which will allow them to do it. At mass meetings, house to house leaflet distribution, etc., until now it has been the SYC upon whom almost the entire responsibility has fallen to see that literature is distributed. We understand that in the LO there are similar committees to our own, Literature, Agit-Prop, etc. which could make possible the efficient execution of this work.

3. Representation from the LO to the SYC

For some months past, since all the LO comrades were withdrawn from the SYC, we have been asking and urging that we be given additional LO comrades to help in our work; after much delay, one additional comrade was sent in to our unit and one to the Mt. Dennis unit. You will understand, that it is difficult for us to cope with our tasks without sufficient guidance from comrades representing the LO.



#### 4. Internal Discussion of problems

Several times in the discussion of problems, political questions, the SYC has had differences of opinion expressed and has referred these questions to the LO, to which we naturally look for direction and leadership. It has, in almost every case, taken months for a reply to come down and this has hampered our ideological development considerably. We feel that we cannot make ourselves too clear when we urge that our problems and differences be discussed by the LO comrades, and the full report of the discussions sent to us, as soon as possible.

#### 5. On the picket line

In the few strikes that the LO and SYC have actively supported, it has been chiefly the SYC comrades who have made it their duty to get down on the picket line, mingle with the workers, collect money, etc. Although we certainly do not wish to make a fetish out of moral support to the striking workers, we believe it to be of the utmost importance that the LO participate to an equal extent in this activity.

#### 6. Issuing the paper

For many months the only Canadian LO paper has been the "Young Militant". A Canadian youth paper is, of course, absolutely essential in our task of organizing and gaining contact with the youth masses; but it cannot hope to

#### Page two

measure up to the responsibility of an adult organ. Because of the fact that the Vanguard has not appeared we have been forced to give the "Young Militant" a more advanced tone and to include articles which properly had their place in an adult paper. Thus, our youth paper, is hindered in its task of being the revolutionary paper especially for the youth.

The SYC expects that the LO will appreciate its interest in the joint work of the two organizations which the members of the SYC evince by the above criticism and will respond in a sympathetic manner to it.

Comradely yours,

SPARTACUS YOUTH CLUB  
TORONTO-CENTRAL CITY BRANCH

Sec.

# R.D. Note p. 1

"I think that this reflects the factional struggle initiated by the developing Field dates in the Cdn movement against the Spector leadership - R.D."

J. B. Field, L.R.W.P.



Toronto,  
March 10th., 1934.

Spartacus Youth Club,  
Toronto.

Dear Comrades:

The Executive Committee of the Toronto Branch of the I.L.O. considered your communication of Feb. 19th, in which you informed us that the S.Y.C. had decided to "send a protest to the L.O. asking for more co-operation in our work".

Before proceeding to discuss the matters raised we think it advisable to state that instead of sending "protests" regarding such matters, it would be preferable to have your representative on the E.C. of the LO raise such questions in the regular course of business, or ask them to be placed on the agenda of our meetings. The purpose of mutual representation is for co-operation and co-ordination in our work. In fact several of the matters raised in your communication were discussed at our executive meetings and if you had been informed of them by your representative, there would have been no need to mention them in your communication.

#### A.E. Smith Conference

No communication or invitation was addressed to the LO to attend the conference, so that the matter did not come up in regular correspondence. No member of the EC brought the question up before the first meeting of the conference, either because no one was aware of the conference, had not seen the notice in the Stalinist press or if so had escaped their memory for the time being. At the first meeting after the conference delegates were appointed. When the SYC expresses the opinion that one of our speakers might have been placed on the platform at Massey Hall we are scarcely inclined to share the opinion. All kinds of quacks are acceptable to the Stalinists, but they have hardly reformed to that extent, that they are prepared to allow an LO speaker to appear before an audience of 3,000 workers on a platform they control. We may possibly overestimate the duplicity of the Stalinists. We regret that the LO delegates to the Section 98 conference arrived two hours late. Unless there was good and sufficient reason such laxity on the part of our comrades is impermissible. We thank the SYC for drawing our attention to this matter.

#### Distribution of Literature.

Generally speaking we are of the opinion that it is preferable at mass meetings to have our younger comrades engage in this work. It is a work that is particularly suitable to them and creates a favorable impression on an audience. Our younger comrades are smarter and brighter and in most cases make better sales comrades than the older members. On the other hand we agree that where systematic distribution is arranged all comrades should participate, unless exception is granted for good reasons in particular cases. There have been no special leaflet distribution campaigns organized by the organization. In cases where dodgers are got out for advertising meetings it has usually happened that these have appeared close to meeting and sufficient time was not available to have them placed in the hands of the groups. This has meant that comrades had to be approached outside the regular channels of the organizations. This has given rise to complaints and a certain amount of friction. Our young comrades have borne the brunt of this work, which the whole organization appreciates. It is not always practical to get these leaflets out in time to have them in the hands



of the groups, but the matter has been discussed more than once and attempts are being made to secure smoother working in this matter and avoid the work being loaded on to a few comrades who are located more conveniently than others.

#### Representation from the LO to the SYC

We are only too anxious to assist in this regard and any suggestions for improvement will have the utmost consideration from the LO.

#### Internal discussion of problems.

You complain here that the ideological development of the SYC is being hampered by lengthy delays on the part of the LO in the discussion of problems, political questions and differences of opinion referred to them by the SYC. We are of the opinion that this is exaggerated to say the least. If your work was being seriously hampered then your representative would experience no difficulty if he pointed this out to the LO. EC in having any pressing matter immediately attended to. There are only two questions outstanding that we have any knowledge of and here there is considerable room for debate as to their immediate pressing nature. These questions are anti-Militarism and the question of the United Front. Certainly so far as our immediate tasks are concerned the so-called differences should not hamper our work in the slightest. The LO. EC. adopted a resolution on Militarism several weeks ago. This was held up ~~by~~ your representative desired to place a statement before the EC. So far as the United Front is concerned this seems to be quite clear to most comrades. But there is a point of view, which was expressed some time ago in a statement by comrade Gappel, that there can be no United Front 'from below' or that a United Front 'from Below' is no united front at all. To suggest that a discussion on this point of view is particularly pressing or that lack of a discussion is hampering the ideological development of the SYC is plain nonsense. However without in the least capitulating to the point of view that every question raised in an artificial manner; ~~must-be-immediately-considered~~ questions that do not arise in the development and nature of our work; must be immediately considered in the interests of ideological development, the LO has decided to frame a statement on the United Front. This will be forthcoming at an early date. It is not possible to give a full report of all discussions. The SYC representative can give a resume of same to your organization.

#### On the Picket Line

There is no doubt that it has been chiefly the SYC comrades who have participated in this work. The LO comrades have never been really organized for this activity. It can almost be taken for granted that with the present relation of forces the younger comrades will probably have to continue with the major work in this activity. This cannot be construed of course to mean that where the LO is directly concerned with the leadership of ~~the~~ strike that all our forces should not be mobilized for assistance. Without trying to minimize the importance of this activity even at this stage in the development of our organization, where important contacts can often be made on the picket line, there is a point of view that has made its appearance at least in the Dressmakers and Garment Workers strike, that is not altogether a correct approach to the question of picketting and may be referred to here. The impression seems to exist in some quarters that it is the duty of the LO members or the members of any revolutionary political party to "take over" the duty of picketting from the workers who are on strike. It should be our duty to activate the workers to engage in the work of mass picketing themselves. In these strikes referred to several thousands were on strike, there was no question here of lack of forces, which required reinforcements. Neither was it a question of mingling with the strikers that was particularly stressed, but there seemed to be the point of view that our comrades ought to replace the actual strikers themselves on the picket line. This is not a correct approach and has nothing in common with the task of development of mass action of the workers themselves. However a certain criticism regarding this activity is in order and there is no desire in the above remarks to escape it.



3.

Issuing the Paper.

One of the outstanding defects in the LO work has been the practical disappearance of the Vanguard from the scene. You are no doubt aware that we have set ourselves the task of raising money for the purchase of type for the purpose of issuing a printed organ. We are not so sure as you are that the matter of duplication will be solved with the regular appearance of the two papers. We are inclined to the opinion that the question lies deeper than this. However this question of the two papers is on the table for discussion. There is a point of view that for some time a section of the LO paper might be sufficient for youth material and that all forces should be centred on the development of this organ.

In conclusion we should state that we have considered the question of the relations of the LO and the SYC and are not satisfied that a clear understanding exists as to our organizational and political relations. For the purpose of clarity in this regard we have decided to draft a statement which will be ready soon.

Comradely yours,

E.C. I.L.O. Toronto Branch.

## THE VANGUARD – JUNE 1934

### The Provincial Elections and Our Policy

The Ontario workers have once again the "great and sacred privilege" of exercising their democratic parliamentary franchise.

Four years of crisis have driven down their living standards to starvation levels. Hundreds of thousands are unemployed and are on miserable relief rations. Thousands of virile young men are in concentration camps. Evictions and loss of homes by workers are every day occurrences. The miserable Moratorium Act fails to protect the worker. Workers are degraded, while the hogs of industry and finance, grow increasingly fat and audacious; stage their Pickford and Bessborough circuses; have their military shows and reviews; rant of our glorious institutions of "Law and order" and shudder at the "subversive" forces in society, which would destroy our "civilization" maintained by the grace of god, Canon Cody, Holt, Gundy and Flavelle.

Premier Henry makes promises of better things to come if returned. Beer and a Minimum Wage for men. Mothers' allowances and Health Services. And maybe Unemployed Insurance. He has had no time or opportunity to give these during the past four years.

The Henry Government – Bennett Government, are governments of the ruling capitalist class of this country; the politicians receive the plums of office, the patronage, graft, etc. for obeying the dictates of the manufacturing and financial interests, who fill their political war chests with the plunder wrung from the blood and exploitation of the masses of workers and poor farmers. The struggle of the workers against the miserable conditions of today is met at every stage by the repressive measures of the State, as hirelings and agents. Imprisonment of working class leaders. Outlawing of workers political parties. Deportations of thousands of workers. Injunctions against picketing in strikes; smashing of strikes by military and police forces. Forcing down of relief scales. Institution of work testing for relief. Open and (covert) support of growing fascist organizations. Preparation of another blood-bath for the workers in the interests of imperialism and capitalism.

The conservative and Liberal Parties are the open arties of Capitalism, Tweedle-dum and tweedle-dee. The "time for a change" slogan of the Liberals, means to them that it is time that a new gang of politicians shall get their feet in the pig trough of patronage, graft and corruption. Nothing more.

The C.C.F. with its demagogy, its phrase-mongering, its safe and sane respectability, its parliamentary reformism and its evolutionary "socialism" plays the same role as its sister parties in other countries. Its suppression of all vestige of true working class thought and activity within its ranks is sufficient alone to condemn it. The unprincipled politicians within its leadership, such as Lebourdais, Philpotts, Williams, etc. can only strengthen this condemnation. The Alberta Government (CCF) is not one whit better than the Henry government. The CCF acts as a buffer between the capitalist class and the workers, canalising the rising discontent of the workers against capitalism, into purely parliamentary reformist channels; resisting and weakening the militant fighting organization of the workers; in short serving the interests of capitalism, by confusing, pacifying and deluding the workers, as to the nature of the crisis, the character of the capitalist State and the need for the revolutionary struggle of the workers as the historic way out. True, thousands of honest workers are following the CCF today, in the hopes that at least they will (be) better than the others and that the CCF if returned "would be forced to do something for the workers now." This argument dies hard, despite the lessons of Labor Government in Great Britain, the Socialist Government(s) in Germany, Austria, France Denmark, etc.

Then we have the candidates of the Communist Election Committee, the Staliñist Candidates, who claim to be the only true representatives of the working class -- the loyal and tested champions of the workers.

These candidates come before the workers with an elaborate program of demands covering every phase of social legislation, from Old Age Pensions at fifty, to government scholarships "to enable the talented youth of the labouring masses to attend higher educational institutions."

Our party has not found it expedient to put forward candidates of its own in this election. This was not a question of principle but of temporary expediency. Undoubtedly in the future elections our candidates will be in the field. The question may be asked therefore should we not support other candidates, who represent a Party with which it is true we have fundamental differences, but a Party nevertheless that sponsors a program of immediate demands that we ought to support? At least we should surely support them even as a protest against capitalism.

With us it is not and cannot be a question of simply selecting the BEST program of demands and asking the workers to support them. Practically all of the demands of the communist platform will be endorsed by the CCF candidates. If it were merely a question then of rallying the maximum vote as a protest against the system, one might as lief argue that while we have no faith in the CCF as a Party, we call upon the workers to vote for their candidates as a protest against the present system and for their program of demands. This would seem the more reasonable (as) the C.C.F. will

The fight for socialism is not simply a fight for socialism in Canada, or in each and every separate country. We reject the whole Stalinist theory of "socialism in one country", whether it be in Russia or Canada. We stand for international socialism -- the banner of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky and all true revolutionary internationalists.

In all activity, parliamentary elections included, the permanent revolutionary interests of the international proletariat and its struggle for power must be safeguarded and assured.

The betrayal of socialism, of the working class by Social Democracy, is not the only word in this regard. The Stalinist parties of Germany, Austria, Bulgaria, are brother parties of the Canadian Stalinist Communist Party. These parties and the fountainhead -- the Third International -- share great responsibility for the tragic defeat of the workers in these countries and the victory of Fascism therein, with their false and bankrupt theories and policies which have nothing in common with Marxism or Leninism. The Communist candidates in this election are supporters and defenders of this strategy.

We would not be sincere in our deep-rooted convictions of the need for a New International and new revolutionary Marxist parties, if we believed otherwise, of simply told the workers that as we have no candidates of 'our own, vote and work for the Stalinist candidates, as they have a good program of immediate demands, or because they have a considerable following.

poll thousands of worker votes where the communists will poll hundreds, or at least in that proportion.

Either of these alternatives would be unprincipled and opportunistic. Neither can there be any choosing of the so-called lesser evil -- a policy followed with dire results by the workers in several European countries, Germany, Austria, etc.

We are not a Party of parliamentary reformism -- of gradualism -- through which we gradually change the personnel or complexion of parliament to a more favorable relationship to the workers. Important as parliamentary activity is, the class struggle will not be fought out and settled in parliament. Parliament to us is a tribune, where the voice and demands of the workers are heard, through its representatives. Parliamentary activity is a phase or a continuation of the every day class struggle which goes on outside of parliament, the culmination of which must be the conquest of political power by the workers government -- a soviet government, capable of laying the foundation of a new economic system -- of a socialist society.

The 2nd International and Social Democracy in its day organized millions of workers; covered its opportunism and its narrow nationalism with revolutionary socialist phrases and fervid declarations of internationalism, right up to the eve of its ignominious collapse. The small Leninist minority in these days were called hopeless doctrinaires add sectarians, until history proved them right in 1914.

The Ontario elections will settle nothing for the workers. The fight for the pressing need of the workers against the ravages of the crisis; for unemployed insurance; against wage cuts; for higher scales of relief, for release of class war prisoners; against fascism and imperialist war and for the abolition of capitalism and the final victory of the workers will be fought outside of legislatures; and can only be led and guided by a party having correct revolutionary theory, strategy and practice. Such is not the Stalinist Party, no more in this than in other countries, where Stalinism has nothing hut defeats, capitulation, disorganization and disruption of the unity of the workers to its credit.

Neither will any shoddy sentimental appeal to the achievements of the workers of the Soviet Union save the Soviet Union from internal degeneration nor imperialist intervention. Only the victory of the workers, particularly of the European, over the forces of Fascist and capitalist reaction can save and defend the interests of the Russian masses.

At this time therefore, when the interest of the workers is raised during the election,

we seek the opportunity of appealing to all class conscious workers to ally themselves with the forces that are rapidly gathering together in this and other countries, with the determination and conviction of the

pressing need for the building up a true revolutionary Party and International, founded and based on the invulnerable theories, strategy and practice of Marx and Lenin.

J.McD.



# Results of the Ontario Elections

Two Conservative Governments have been wiped out in the Ontario and Saskatchewan elections. A great Liberal landslide has occurred. A party that could afford to dispense with the usual program and pledges to the electorate, so great was the popular feeling against the government, now holds office. Contenting itself with broad charges of graft, corruption, and mal-administration, the Liberal party is pledged to nothing in particular. Talking all around the questions of unemployment, relief measures, section 98, taxation, etc., it was able to capitalize on the indignation and hatred of the masses, who have swept a capitalist party out of power only to replace it with another.

The CCF entered the lists with a large number of candidates, hopeful of securing a "balance of power" with which to implement their demagogic promises to the workers. But the unprecedented landslide has left the liberals with a huge majority and only one lone CCF'er in Ontario and a few in Saskatchewan.

The extravagant pre-election bombast and predictions of the Stalinists has been severely deflated and exposed and is having its effect on the rank and file following, who took the predictions of the leaders seriously.

"The Worker", unabashed, explains the miserable showing of the Stalinist candidates as follows:

"The Communist campaign was weakened by the fact that in many constituencies where communists ran, the number of campaign workers was relatively small."

"The big strides forward made by the Communist Party in Ontario in the organization and leadership of workers struggles was very weakly reflected in the voting figures."

But how can this explain away the estimation made by "The Worker" prior to the election. In the June 16th issue we read; "All the candidates presented their nomination paper signed by workers and farmers who constitute A SMALL FRACTION OF THE THOUSANDS OF ENTHUSIASTIC SUPPORTERS WHO BACK EACH CANDIDATE." What became of them? In reference to the workers whose struggles the Stalinists are supposed to have led we read in the same issue - "in tens of thousands these toilers, aroused to their class interests, are preparing to vote in support of the communist candidates and the communist program." What happened here? Did they switch to the Liberal or CCF program at the last minute?

The above is the typical buffoonery and humbug in which all parties of Stalinism indulge today. The class struggle is conducted by a system of dramatics, bluff, slander, and plain lies, as a support and boister for their revisionist policies in the strategy and tactics of the class struggle.

No sober analysis can be expected from this source. Not even an admittance of their false and erroneous estimation of their influence among the workers — the sobering reaction of Estevan and Stratford notwithstanding.

A Marxist analysis in the light of the experiences of the class struggle in the international arena in general and Stalinist policies in particular could only lead to a decisive rejection of the false theories and strategy of Stalinism among the conscious thinking elements in their ranks and following. It

would stimulate the growing revolt against their "bureaucratic ultimatism"; of strangling mechanical control; of their theory of "social fascism"; of their fake "united front" tactics; of their false trade union policies; in short to a vindication of the theoretical and practical position of the Left Opposition.

All that can be expected is a further display of political acrobatics and zig-zag policies without an honest discussion and analysis before the revolutionary workers.

We were not fooled by the extravagant predictions of official Stalinism. The criminal under-estimation of the rising forces of Hitlerism and the loud-mouthed declarations of the enormous influence and fighting capacities of Stalinism in Germany are too fresh in our memories.

Five years of unprecedented crisis; of poverty and misery; of evictions, task work and concentration camps; of police terror and repression; of growing fascism and nearing imperialist war; of wide-spread strikes and revolts against intolerable conditions of labor, have not produced in any single capitalist country, a party of Stalinism in the least capable of leading the workers and developing a mass revolutionary party.

Some workers taking the self-estimation of the Stalinist forces and influence at its face value, believed we were making a mistake in not calling upon the workers to support the Stalinist candidates. They believed we might isolate ourselves from these "tens of thousands" of honest workers, who according to The Worker would work and vote for their candidates. We pointed out that the permanent interests of international revolutionary socialism were of permanent importance, compared with a few hundred extra votes for what was at best a questionable revolutionary program of immediate demands.

These workers are also wiser today. The broad masses of workers in movement for the first time against the iniquities of a degrading capitalist system did not vote for the Stalinist candidates. They still hug their illusions. They wanted something now and believed they could get it from the Liberal Parties that at least had a "chance" of being elected and probably doing something for them now.

A true communist party, a party built on the invulnerable principles, policies and tactics of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky and not on the sterile, bankrupt and decaying theory and practice of Stalinism — that party of nationalism and "committee politics" as Maria Reese described it — a true communist party should and would in these days of decaying capitalism, measure its forces by tens of thousands, particularly in industrial Ontario.

It is futile for revolutionary workers to expect anything further from Stalinism, which has sacrificed the permanent interests of the international working class on the altar of "socialism in one country", which has relinquished the struggle on the international field to the Lord Marleys, et al. and which bureaucratically maintains its "jack in the boxes" in each country. Only the organization of all honest and sincere Marxists and Leninists into a true revolutionary party in this and other countries can provide the direction and leadership for the rising hosts of workers in the struggle for their emancipation from capitalism and imperialism and the establishment of a Workers Socialist Republic.

J. M.



# The Workers' Party and the Trade Unions

(Statement of Policy of the Worker's Party of Canada)

While the strategy and tactics of a revolutionary Workers' Party in the progress and conduct of the class struggle and in the task of extending its influence with and gaining the leadership of the broad masses of the workers are essentially flexible, being based and rooted in the objective historical conditions and having regard to the relation of class forces; there are certain policies and tactics, tested and proven in the history and experience of the international working class that are fundamental for the advancement and growth of the revolutionary movement.

In this regard the attitude of a revolutionary party to the trade union movement, can only be correctly determined by the recognition of the historical growth and development of the trade unions as the elementary economic organizations of the workers in capitalist production; organizations that serve as defensive and offensive weapons in the determination or influencing of the living standards of the workers. Marx termed the trade unions "schools of communism". By this he meant that the pure and simple trade unionist through his experiences in the union, strikes, struggle, etc., where the class nature of capitalist society began to unfold itself, became convinced of the truth of the principles of communism.

The trade unions in their earliest days were limited mainly to skilled workmen. Hence their craft basis and outlook which still persists to a great extent today. Mass production, mechanization and rationalization of industry have rapidly broken down craft divisions and distinctions; have broadened the base of the trade union; have made for an equalization of the wage levels of the workers; eliminating social distinctions, drawing them closer together and developing their class consciousness. This has broken down also the narrow local organization and outlook of the union; smashed the early conception of trade union political "neutrality"; broadened and sharpened the struggle and undermined the base which "social reformism" had in the stages of comparatively peaceful, organically developing capitalism and created favorable ground for the extension of revolutionary influence and activity.

In common with the policies of the Comintern and the Red International of Labor Unions (RILU) and its national sections, the trade union "policy" of the Communist Party of Canada has a history that clearly reveals in the later stages, since the invention of the "third period" of the Sixth Congress of the C.I., the revised Leninist character of the zig-zag, adventurist, centrist policies of the Stalinist regime, which has led to the isolation of the militant, left-wing workers in all countries, from the main stream of the established trade union movement; thereby weakening the resistance of the organized workers to the onslaught of capitalism on their living standards; strengthening relatively the influence of the reactionary reformist bureaucracy and playing directly into the hands of the fascist and reactionary forces in their suppression of the trade union organizations of the workers. Their latest apparent back-spring towards work in the old unions etc. takes the form of bureaucratic ultimatums, without any discussion, explanation or renouncing of their previous policies before the workers.

Owing to the peculiar growth of the Canadian trade union movement, where the majority of the organized workers are to be found in the so-called "international" unions, i.e. in branches or locals of the American unions with control vested in head-quarters in the U.S.A. and where also in late years there has been a growth of independent or Canadian national unions, there is in Canada more than one trade union center. This has been further complicated by the establishment of the Workers Unity League (Stalinist) as a so-called "revolutionary" trade union center. The problems and tasks therefore of trade union work, particularly in the direction of trade union unity are more complex in Canada than in most countries. Large sections of the Canadian working class are unorganized. The Automobile, Textile, Steel, Metal-Mining and Packing Industries, not to mention other fields of trade and commerce are totally unorganized. These industries can only be organized along industrial lines. The craft union can have no real basis in these industries.

Authentic statistics regarding the numerical strength of the trade union organizations are difficult to obtain. The Labor Dept. of the Federal Govt. publishes annually a review of "Labor Organization in Canada", which gives a fair graphic sketch over a period of the fluctuations of the movement. One can scarcely, however, rely on the actual current figures relative to the strength of the established organizations.

The Trades and Labor Congress of Canada is by far the largest of the four centres and comprises the international unions. Not all the Canadian branches of the internationals are affiliated with this Congress. Some of the most important railroad unions remain outside. The relative strength of the four centres is given as follows:

Trades and Labor Congress.....	104,000
All Canadian Congress.....	29,000
Catholic Federation.....	20,000
Workers Unity League.....	20,000

The world crisis has played havoc with the old established trade unions. With a large proportion of their membership unemployed for years very few of the unions have endeavored to carry the unemployed member in good standing, with the result, that unable to pay his contributions, which in most cases are large, he has dropped from the union or been expelled for non-payment of dues. Quite a number of once fairly strong unions are mere skeletons today. This is particularly so in the building and metal industries. Those workers who are organized and employed have had their wages slashed from pre-crisis levels. Capitalism endeavors to find a way out of the crisis by further attacks on the already meagre wages of the workers. Capitalist terror and repression is let loose upon the workers; police violence, arrests of pickets, injunctions against picketing, military intervention, suppression of free speech and right of assembly and organization, are the order of the day.

The fundamental prerequisite of success in the transformation of the Canadian unions into fighting, militant, revolutionary instruments of the working class is the building of an



# The Workers' Party and the Trade Unions

(Cont'd from page 3)

organized left-wing movement that will have the following for its main objects and policy.

1. Organization of the un-organized. 2. For industrial unions — one union for one industry — amalgamation of the existing craft unions in each industry. 3. For National Trade Union unity and the establishment of one trade union center embracing all unions. 4. Against dual unions in any particular field, industry or department. 5. No restriction of political affiliation of individual members. 6. Against the establishment of any new trade union center, as for example the Workers Unity League, which sets itself up not as a League, opposition or minority movement, working for the unification of the trade union movement, but as a "new" trade union national center in competition with the others.

The foregoing are the broad organizational tasks, with the perspective of eventual unification of the trade union forces in this country. But unity of the workers either in separate industries or on a national scale is not an end in itself. It arises from the imperative need of the workers to strengthen their forces, develop their resistance and fighting capacity, to enable them to cope with ever increasing capitalist repression and exploitation and the increasing intervention of the capitalist state against the working class. This unity can only be realized and its necessity become deep-rooted among the broad masses of the workers, in and through the every day struggle of the workers against the employing class; against wage reduction and for increased wages; for a shorter work day; for unemployment and social insurance; against fascist reaction and imperialist war, etc.

This entails a struggle against the reactionary, reformist bureaucracy in the trade unions; against all schemes of class-collaboration, company unions, co-partnership; against the deception of conciliation and arbitration; against narrow craft unionism and for industrial unionism; for the unification of the trade union movement; for the right of free speech, press, assembly and organization; for the maintenance of civil and democratic rights; for workers' defense against fascist reaction, etc.

For the realization of the above objectives, specific plans of activity and programs of demands and activity must be formulated for each industry, beginning with those that embrace the most important sections of the working class. In the main the following plan of organization should be followed:

1. In any locality where more than one union exists in a given industry, e.g. (A.F. of L., ACCL, Independent, WUL.) a local Joint Council should be formed, with representatives from all unions covering that industry. Joint programs of demands should be agreed upon. A policy formulated of mutual assistance in organizing in their respective fields or departments; fullest cooperation in all activity; joint strike action and support; joint meetings of all members; discussion of ways and means for the eventual consolidation of all unions in the industry into one; extension of the local Joint Council to district or national conferences or councils.

2. Where there are at present local Central Labor

Councils comprising units of the established National Centers, a movement must be initiated through wide spread agitation and propaganda for the establishment of one Central Council embracing all unions irrespective of their affiliation. These central councils should concern themselves with the broad demands and interests of the workers in the locality. This will lay the basis and ground work for the convening of district and national conferences of all unions for the consideration of steps towards the realization of National Unity.

3. In industries, factories etc., where no organization exists, unions must be organized and linked up locally with the unions of other industries and become part of the movement having for its objective the establishment of one trade union center in the country. Expediency, special circumstances and the close relationship with other sections of organized workers, having in mind the maximum degree of strength and unity at all times, may determine a decision for the immediate affiliation of a newly organized union to one or the other centers.

4. Where there is a real functioning union in any field, department or industry, embracing a substantial number of workers, this union should be supported organizationally and the workers organized therein.

5. Having regard to the fact that the masses of semi- and unskilled workers are unorganized and that the old "international" or craft unions within the frame-work of their present constitutions, are incapable of organizing these workers, unless provision is made which will allow the affiliation of newly organized industrial unions to the Trades and Labor Congress, the probable development will be towards unions independent of the Trades and Labor Congress. It is estimated that approximately two million workers recently organized along industrial lines or "vertical" unions, in the U.S.A., have been granted charters by the A.F. of L. despite considerable opposition from the officialdom of the international craft unions, who see among these workers numbers of prospective per-capita tax payers. The recent granting of a charter by the Trades and Labor Congress to the Stratford furniture workers is a very significant move.

It is the immediate and imperative duty of all trade union militants, no matter in what section of the split up Canadian trade union movement they happen to have membership in, to interest themselves in the organization of all militant and progressive elements in the unions for the purpose of furthering the above objectives. In no other manner can the unity of the movement be realized. The opposition of the entrenched officialdom of all the sections can be expected. They are interested only in maintaining their influence and privileged position and block every progressive movement with the old thread-worn cries of "disruption", "dualism" and shamelessly seek the support of the employers and all reactionary elements as the representatives of "sane, responsible" unionism. The pressure of the workers for unity; of the masses who have learned what reaction and fascism means to them in the smashing of all their organizations, is compelling lip-service for unity from the bureaucracies of the reformist organizations and the Stalinist henchmen alike, who but yesterday were repudiating and denouncing any suggestion of united action, with their absurd and crazy theories and slogans, "social fascism", "united front from below only", "unity only under the leadership of the Communist Parties", etc. But unity must be sincerely organized and worked for by the militant and progressive forces in the unions, democratically controlled by the rank and file and free from the strangle hold of bureaucratic clique control. Forward to the building of a Trade Union Unity Movement.



CANADIAN CONGRESS AGAINST WAR & FASCISM

Dear Comrades:

You are aware that the executive of our Party and the Toronto Branches were represented at the recent Congress against War and Fascism. We endeavoured to present a resolution outlining what in our estimation should be the policy of such a Congress, but were prevented from doing so by the chairman who gave the lead to the Congress. Most of our comrades are informed of the contents of this resolution, but the executive committee thinks it advisable to give a short review of the nature of the Congress and our attitude towards it, so that there will be no misunderstanding of our position.

The number of "delegates" and observers who filled a fairly large hall is apt to give the impression that the Congress really represented substantial working class forces and that a genuine united front of workers' organizations had been established, where a free and open discussion of methods and policies of fighting war and Fascism could be conducted. In this regard it is necessary to have a correct appraisal of what the Congress really was and how it was organized.

The Canadian Congress is an offshoot of the so-called International Congress against War and Fascism organized by the Stalinist forces by the method of hand-picking individuals, mainly intellectuals and pacifists with a few Communist leaders to balance and control activities. The International Congress was not organized on the basis of a united front conference of working class organizations.

The initiative committee in Canada was organized by the Stalinist forces in the same manner. The Stalinists used a few local socialists who lately have worked in close collaboration with them and are nothing short of Stalinist tools masquerading as independent socialists, along with a few well-known pacifists to form this committee. A general invitation is then made to organizations and individuals, and further additions made from the Congress floor. In this connection, individuals who represented nothing but themselves were added to the local committee and representatives of working class organizations not controlled by the Stalinists kept off.

The so-called National Congress was conducted along similar lines, with a guaranteed control of the Congress by a process of having their innumerable local organizations represented. Committees on resolutions, programs, etc., were hand-picked and the work of the Congress conducted behind the scenes. The arrangements made for the Toronto Congress were such that for two days the delegates were inflicted by a succession of speeches, with the so-called program and resolutions deferred to the last session of the Congress. Most of the invited speakers were there as individuals or observers.

It was obvious that a decision had been made not to permit any presentation of different viewpoints on the conduct of a fight against Fascism and war. Over and over again the chairman intimated that no "politics" were desired. This did not prevent him, however, from allowing his political friends to make attacks when they deemed it necessary. We attended the Congress, not with any illusions as to its char-



actor, but for the purpose of raising a true working class approach to the organization of a genuine united front to fight against Fascism and imperialist war. Our resolution was submitted to the Resolutions Committee, referred from there to the Program Committee and a decision was evidently made there to keep the resolution off the floor. It was to prevent the Stalinists having to meet this resolution in debate that we were denied our rights in presenting our viewpoint.

The so-called program finally adopted is essentially a pacifist approach to the whole question, despite a few phrases smuggled in about the basic organizations of the workers. The whole phraseology about arousing the "people", of having "Canada" take a foremost stand for peace, about not relying "solely" on the League of Nations, etc., is nothing less than a capitulation on the part of the organizers of the Congress to petty-bourgeois, pacifist ideology. The fact that the Rev. Salem Bland regards the Congress as a great step forward on the road to a realization of a Christian social order ought to be enough for any militant worker to judge thereby the character of the Congress. Rabbi Eisendrath's reference to the "spirit of conciliation" is another significant indication.

That we attended and even attempted to raise the question of a true working class fight against war, which according to our resolution must be a fight against capitalism itself, redounds to the credit of our organization. Despite the artificial character of these so-called Congresses, it is our duty on all occasions to raise the working class banner and expose the degeneration of the so-called Communist forces who are responsible for such caricatures. The victory at the Congress went to the forces of petty-bourgeois Christian pacifism, not because they controlled the Congress, as they were in a small minority, but because the Stalinist forces adopted their complete approach to the question of War and Fascism, and dragged the banner of revolutionary socialism in the mire. Duplications of these Congresses have been and are being held in most countries and like the many Congresses of such a nature that have been organized in the past decade by Stalinism, they will pass out of existence under the real pressure of the working class in its fight against capitalism and Fascist reaction.

This in no way means that we can afford a negative attitude towards such Congresses, but at all times we must take the opportunity presented to us of critically exposing the artificial character of such united fronts, and of placing concretely and intelligently before the assembled workers, the Leninist approach to the fight against war and the need for establishing a genuine united front of the workers' organizations in a struggle against Fascist reaction.

Young Militant

## The C.C.Y.M. Convention

The first convention of the Cooperative Commonwealth Youth Movement held October 13, and 14, (1934) gave notice that the C.C.Y.M. (*the CCF youth section –Ed.*) is to be a pure unadulterated organization, to be kept free from association with working class organizations.

The Y.C.L. (*the Stalinist Young Communist League –Ed.*), the Student League and the Canadian Youth Congress against War and Fascism were represented by fraternal delegates who offered proposals for united fronts on behalf of these organizations.

The proposal that the C.C.Y.M. affiliate to the Youth Congress against War and Fascism was defeated by a vote of 43 to 17.

The Stalinists' false theory of "social fascism" and their slogan of "united front from below only" were thrown in their teeth at every turn, and the Y.C.L. received just criticism continuously which must have made the ears of their delegates burn. The sincerity of the Y.C.L. in asking for a united front was doubted, as it was shown that they had refused to enter a united front in the U.S.A. including the Y.P.S.L., the Trotskyite youth and the Lovestonite youth. It was pointed out that if the Y.C. L. were sincere in their proposals they should have no objection to entering a united front with these working class organizations.

While the convention succeeded in exposing the Y.C.L. nevertheless the former proved to be run from the top, with a well-oiled machine keeping the C.C.Y.M. steered well over to the right. This was proven when a motion was carried stating that any further proposals of cooperation or united fronts with any organization whatsoever would be out of order. After this was carried it was merely a case of the steam roller working, and resolutions were passed which gave ample evidence of the petty middle class viewpoint of the leadership.

The age limit was set at thirty-five, which does not give much indication of youth. The C.C.F. quite evidently are not in favour of trusting the youth, therefore there must be a sufficient number of sturdier older elements in the C.C.Y.M. to keep the younger organization straight on the path of reformism and allow no trace of revolutionary thought to permeate the ranks.

The question of trade union policy was tossed aside with a short indefinite resolution.

A Provincial Council of fifteen was elected which gives little promise of being able to conduct a struggle against the reactionary influence of the leadership of the C.C.F. parent body. There are those in the C.C.Y.M., however, who are not at all satisfied with the outcome of this convention, who are not ready to conform with the petty-bourgeois leadership and at the same time are not ready to be duped by the lure of the Y.C.L. A definitely revolutionary current within the C.C.Y.M. is bound to arise before long and this element in the organization will attempt to find the correct path for the Canadian working class youth. A concession was made to their tendency by the phraseology of the preamble which talks about the "overthrow" of capitalism, "class struggle," etc., terms which are outlawed by the C.C.F. fathers Woodsworth, Lebourdais and the rest.



Minutes of City Executive Meeting January 14, 1955. (SYC)

Comrades, the first City EC meeting decided upon certain definite requirements, and plans for the future. If we are to forward the progress of the Spartacus Youth League of Canada, it is incumbent upon all members to take seriously and carry out in an energetic manner the decisions. The following decisions and recommendations adopted by the City EC will assure a certain measure of activity for the coming few months, which if carried out in the proper manner by all members will give our organization immediate impetus.

1.. The City EC has decided to set itself up in addition to its present status, as the Provisional National Committee of the Spartacus Youth League of Canada. It is our intention to make our organization National in scope; branches should be established in every locality that a Party branch exists. There is a possibility of establishing branches in the near future in at least two cities, and with the broadening of our activities our organization should broaden geographically.

2. The positions of the City EC have been decided upon as follows.

M. Dowson. City organizer and Editor of Young Militant  
C. Graham. Secretary Treasurer, International and Nat'l corresponden  
A. Kachuk. Social and Sports Director, Rep. to Party Ent. Committee.  
H. Kennedy. Opponent org. Director, Rep. to Party EC. Headquarters Di  
L. Clarke. Educational director.

The branch organizers are to form the City Ent. committee, under the supervision of A. Kachuk

The Literature agents for each unit are to be handled by the Educational directors, who in turn will receive their literature and supervision from L. Clarke.

3. Dues System, and Finances.  
for

It is imperative ~~upon~~ all members to strictly adhere to, and give their full co-operation to financial matters. Our scope and activities depend to a degree upon the condition of our coffers. In the past our finances have been extremely meager, which made the organization pinched and scratched. We can never be too strong financially, and we hope for an immediate response in strengthening ourselves financially.

In future all dues collected by the local branches are to be turned over to the City Sec. Treas. He will allow each group a sum monthly for incidental expenses. Requests for sums other than this are to be made to the City Ec.

All money should be turned over immediately to the City Treasurer. Arrangements for out of town groups will be made when such are established.

Membership cards and stamps will be printed as soon as possible.

A charge of 25¢ will be made for the membership cards to new members. i.e. those that are employed. Present members are to receive books free.

A list of members names, addresses, telephone no. amt of dues paid, employed or unemployed, other organizations belonging to, where employed and any other information deemed necessary is to be forwarded to City EC. by the Secretaries.



The following is the schedule of dues.

Employed members 15¢ weekly

Unemployed " 10¢ monthly

Students, part time workers, and members receiving small wages, will have their dues payments arranged by branch organizers.

Members behind more than two months in dues will be interviewed by the branch bureaus.

We shall establish an organizational fund, above the dues. The issuance of the Young Militant and other organizational necessities, will not be able to be carried by the dues alone. Members who can afford to do so shall pledge an amount to be paid weekly in addition to their dues.

At present we have debts amounting to \$27.32. These we intend to liquidate within the next two months. Under Socials will be found a method of helping to defray this debt.

### Literature

The City Educational Director will be in charge of all literature. The Mt. Dennis group is to sell literature at all meetings in Mt. Dennis and the surrounding territory.

The Downtown group will cover meetings between Dovercourt and Church sts., meetings in this territory not covered by the S.Y.C. will be covered by the Downtown Unit of the Party. Comrades shall also take upon themselves the sale of a certain number of papers each month. These can be sold to individual friends, and at times at meetings. We shall be responsible for the sale of 75 copies of each issue of the Vanguard.

### Educational Program:

There should be meetings held solely as educational meetings, to which outsiders shall be invited to attend. At time to time various guest speakers should be invited. Topics of discussion need not necessarily be devoted only to topics of the Class Struggle, but also in the scientific and cultural field. The cut and dried form of study class should be as limited as possible. The Party has one organized, and another is being formed in the East End by the S.Y.L. and Party jointly. When we feel that a study class of this nature is necessary one will be organized. Existing study classes should continue.

### Nature of Meetings

Business meetings should be very short. There is really no necessity for long winded discussions in the business period, as the work has been co-ordinated. A period of each meeting should be educational, at which period non-members should be allowed to participate. An educational program for these meetings should be arranged by the Ed. director and should be conducted in a lively fashion. ~~Members~~

### Young Militant

We have decided to recommence issuing the Young Militant. The first issue to be a ten page issue to be ready for March 1st. All material relating to the youth, youth papers of all kinds should be col-



lected and forwarded to the editorial board. Murray Dowson will be the editor, and we recommend that in addition J. Kendle and S. Jourard serve on the editorial board.

### Social and Cultural.

There shall be three social affairs held, for the purpose of raising funds for the liquidation of our debts. One by each Unit, and one by the membership jointly. These to be held in the months of January and February. This does not negate the holding of affairs for the purpose of bringing contacts towards us.

### Opponent Organizations.

A list of these organizations is being prepared, and members will be notified if and what organizations they are to join.

### Headquarters.

We desire to approve the appearance of our Headquarters. Comrades who have any should donate pictures and other material which may lend towards making the place more attractive. A bulletingboard will be obtained, and comrades are urged to save any clippings, notices etc. which may be of interest and placed thereon.

### Party Representation

There shall be a Party representative in each unit, and one Party EC member to the S.Y.L. City EC. The representative to the local units to come from the local Party unit.

### General

Members with contacts in the East End of the City should notify Comrade Dowson at Ly 7924.

Send in minutes regularly and promptly to the City Secretary, and any other information requested in the above.

The City EC meetings will be held regularly on Wed. evenings.





**1935 -- "York Memorial Spartacus Club--York Memorial High School -- Ross top row, Lower left Murray Dowson, right side Sadie Jourard"** (*Notes by RD's sister Lois Bédard*)

**"Spartacus corn roast, 1935--Sylvia is just behind Murray and to the left"** (*notes Arnie Mintz*)



1. At the general membership meeting of the Toronto units, held. Feb. 10th. a review of the work of the organization for the past year was made and certain organizational decisions made for the improvement of the work in the future. An Executive Committee of eleven members was elected, one to be a SYL representative. The following committees were elected, to act as provisional National Departments :- Trade Union; Unemployment; Organization; National Agit-Prop; Toronto Agit-Prop. and Executive Secretariat.

It will probably be impractical to elect such committees in other centers for local work, owing to lack of sufficient forces, but comrades should be chosen by the membership, who will act as directors for the work of these various departments. This will facilitate and improve the work in these respective fields. These comrades must make reports to the organization containing recommendations and suggestions for the conduct of the work. This is particularly necessary for Trade union and Unemployed work. The Organization Dept. is also very important work; considering ways and means for increasing the membership of our units, conducting fraction work and establishing new contacts in other workers organizations. We must strive to break through our narrow propagandist atmosphere and turn our face to active work in the general working class struggle, small though our forces may be.

#### CONSTITUTION.

A provisional Constitution has been adopted. This will be mimeographed and sent to the units immediately. It is just the bare outline of a constitution, but we consider it necessary for the disciplined conduct of our work and the laying of the frame work for a more comprehensive constitution, when we reach the stage when a national conference of the Party will be possible. We are of the opinion that we must make every effort to convene such a conference in the fall of this year.

#### LITERATURE.

Our work in Canada has suffered from a serious lack of literature. This is chiefly due to the fact that the authorities prohibit the entry of our literature from the United States. We have been successful however in obtaining a limited quantity and the comrades must do their best to get this into the hands of the workers. We decided to publish the pamphlet by L. Trotsky - "The Kirov Assassination" This will be the first publication in English by the Party in Canada. The pamphlet will sell at ten cents and must be pushed with all possible energy by the Party comrades. We are in receipt of a communication from the International Secretariat requesting the organizations to do all in their power to get this material into the hands of the workers. The scandalous campaign by the Stalinists, endeavoring to implicate the "Trotskyists" with the assassination of Kirov, must be strenuously combatted and the real truth brought to the attention of the whole working class. We must not consider this attempt of Stalin to implicate us in this affair as only of passing moment. It is only the beginning of an international campaign on the part of official Stalinism against the Bolshevik-Leninists whose ideas are penetrating the masses, not only in Capitalist countries, but in the Soviet Union itself. ~~XXX~~ The Stalinist bureaucracy is endeavoring to cover up its own contradictions and difficulties, by a ~~xxxxxxxx~~ vicious attack on the communist internationalists. We would make a serious mistake if we concluded that this campaign finds no response among the workers, and that there is no need to explain and expose all the rottenness of the charges to the workers. We must conduct a counter-attack with all our energies. The Kirov pamphlet is necessary in this work. It is a first rate work and will be a great service to our organization.



The National Agit-Prop. will consider the possibility of publishing further pamphlets. The need is obvious. Full support of the membership is the necessary prerequisite for the extension of this important work. If there is a quick sale and prompt return of monies from the Kirov pamphlet, then other publications will follow. The local Agit-Prop. directors must take this work in hand and mobilize the membership for the sale of this pamphlet.

We have translated an article of L.D. from the Russian Bulletin and have mimeographed this, so that our membership can have the advantage of his analysis of the situation in the USSR. We would have liked to have published this also, but our means won't allow of this. The article will be of good ~~value~~ educational value and it is for this purpose we are putting it into your hands.

#### Ukrainian Work and Literature

While on the subject of literature we draw your attention to the fact that our Ukrainian Bureau has published four printed pamphlets, which sell at tens cents each. These are ; Lenin's Testament; Ten Years History of the L.O.; The Soviet Union and the 4th International; and the Kirov Assassination. Our units must pay more attention to the foreign born workers than they have hitherto. Our comrades in the West must pay greater attention to this field. These four pamphlets furnish a first class means of breaking the ground in the Ukrainian field, which is a very important ~~sphere~~ sphere of work in Canada. Every attempt should be made to interest and draw the Ukrainian workers to our Party.

#### New Vanguard Campaign.

The comrades are receiving material from the Committee elected to conduct this campaign. We only wish here to add our appeal to all comrades to lend every ounce of support to this work. There is no need here to stress the value of a twice monthly paper for our Party in Canada. It will raise our whole movement to a much higher level than ever before. But this can only be accomplished by the greatest devotion and self-sacrifice of all our comrades. We have capable and loyal comrades in charge of this campaign and if instructions are promptly and loyally carried out by our units, we are sure the campaign will be successful. The Executive has decided after long and serious consideration to publish the new Vanguard at the price of three cents per copy. It goes without saying that this does not meet the cost of printing by a long way. In order, however, to get the paper into the hands of as many workers as possible and to make the sale of the Vanguard as easy as possible, we decided to take the loss, in the hopes that if every obstacle is removed, from getting it into the hands of the workers, the increase of circulation and the new contacts secured, will make the loss easier as time goes on. This is to a great extent in the nature of an experiment, testing out the carrying ~~capacity~~ capacity of our Party. Here again the utmost cooperation will be necessary.

MAY DAY. Wherever possible our units should participate in legitimate united front conferences for May Day demonstrations, even taking the lead where our forces and the local situation make this possible. The Party will issue a May Day Manifesto. We would appreciate reports from the outside units on arrangements being made for May Day demonstrations. If United Front conferences are being formed? What organizations are participating? What attitude is the CCF adopting, etc.? General reports on lab or activities to the Center are few indeed and if the Vanguard is to reflect the general struggle of the workers in the country, this defect will have to be remedied. Correspondents will have to be appointed for this work.

DOMINION ELECTION. The Federal Election will take place this year, probably in the early summer. Toronto is probably the only center where the Party has



sufficient forces to enter the election with a Party Candidate. Even here the question will have to be carefully considered. A \$200.00 deposit is necessary. There is no question that such a campaign would provide the Party with a splendid opportunity of coming before the masses. \$200.00 means much to us, particularly on the heels of the Vanguard campaign. Reports should be made by our organizations on the local situation and even the possibility of running candidates explored. Reports from the West would be appreciated and information as to the reaction in CCF circles of the proposed United Front by the C.P. to the CCF in the election. What developments, if any, have taken place on this proposition. Are there any agreements being made between these two Parties on the question of what seats will be contested?

#### Spartacus Youth League.

The Party units must turn their attention to assisting in the formation of S.Y.Ls. in their localities. Young workers who are sympathetic to our ideas should be placed in communication with the Executive of the League in Toronto. The youth field is a fertile one for our work. There are many young workers being drawn into the labor movement, who are untainted with Stalinism and are seeking for something more inspiring than the reformism of the CCF or the CCYM. These young workers are potential recruits for our Party. Suitable literature must be placed in their hands and closest comradely relations established and maintained with them, so that the nucleus of a youth league can be formed. Our young comrades in Toronto will be pleased to render any assistance whatever in this work.

#### Registration Forms for Members.

Accompanying this bulletin are registration forms for our membership. These must be filled in immediately and forwarded to the head office, so that we may have a true estimation of the composition of the membership, on the basis of the information sought in the form. Copies of these can be kept for local purposes. This information will be kept strictly with the Executive. The information is essential, so that we may make the best possible use politically of all our comrades.

#### Executive Bulletins.

The Executive has decided to issue regular Bulletins to the units. Previously the Provisional Executive has functioned to a great extent as an executive committee of the Toronto units. It will endeavor from now on to coordinate the work on a national scale and these bulletins will contain instructions; directives; and information of the decisions of the Executive. The Executive requests that the units furnish them with a copy of the minutes of the meetings of the units, or at least a report of the activities and work conducted and decisions made. This is particularly necessary for the Toronto units, but applies also to the outside units who must be gin reporting regularly to the center.

The following is a brief outline of the decisions of the first meetings of the Department Committees.

#### Unemployment

The reports here concern primarily the work in Toronto in the Toronto Union of Unemployed. There are three branches of this organization.; West End. Moss Park (center) and the North End. The Stalinists have deliberately sabotaged the work of this organization. Where they could not "capture" they have boycotted. The West end branch is in their hands. Moss Park branch is not under their control and they are doing their utmost to break the organization. North End, a new territory, shows very favorable developments recently.



In the Township, Mt. Dennis, where two of our comrades are on the Executive, the Stalinists have commenced a campaign to oust our comrades from the organization. We have one comrade on the Executive of the Silverthorn United Workers Assoc. It was decided to oppose the affiliation of these ~~unemployed~~ unemployed organization to the CLDL, WIR and similar organizations. Any affiliation of TUU branches with other unemployed organizations should be done only in consultation with the Central Executive of the ~~Executive~~ <sup>TUU</sup>. Delegations should be exchanged between branches to familiarize ~~each other~~ <sup>each</sup> branch with the work of the other. The question of the hostels must be made a question of first consideration, particularly by Moss Park branch where many of the hostel inmates are members. A mass meeting should be arranged at an early date, in conjunction with the Trades and Labor Council is possible. In the selection of speakers to address ~~these~~ meetings of the branches our comrades should influence the choice of our comrades, although not to the exclusion of others, as long as they support the general organizational work of the TUU or the unemployed in general.

### Trade Union Committee.

Preliminary steps in Trade Union work were considered and the following adopted.

1. General meeting of all trade union members.
2. Establishment of trade union Party fractions.
3. Question of the formation of "progressive" groups in the trade unions.
4. General meeting of progressive trade unionists, to consider general problems.
5. Receiving regular reports of trade union activity and party fraction work from all units.
6. Information to units - directives, reports, etc..

### Agit-Prop. Com. (Toronto)

1. That all units list public meetings in their localities and detail comrades to cover these with literature, Vanguard, etc.
2. That all members of the units be informed of study classes for the purpose of contacting new members and sympathizers for these classes. That a list of these classes and where held be sent to each unit.
3. That each unit handle copies of the New International and that the sale of this monthly be pushed.
4. That units be instructed to report on agitational and propaganda work being done in their locality.
5. That each unit be supplied with a list of the publications obtainable from the Center.

### Organization Com.

This meeting was more in the nature of a preliminary discussion and something in the nature of an Organizational Bulletin will be got out. The Toronto East end group's attention is drawn to the need for centering their attention on the Scarborough district, with the intention of making contacts there. The West End is doing some work in the Humber side territory. The West End, (Mt. Dennis) City group should concentrate on the Lake Shore district.

### Study Classes. We+

(record ends)



March 1, 1935

S. Y. L. Resolution on C.C. Y.M.

The main immediate task of the S.Y.L. is to aid the Workers' Party of Canada build the new revolutionary party. The specific instrument through which the young workers and students can be won for the new party is a new revolutionary youth league. Just as the Workers' Party is the new revolutionary party in Canada, so the S.Y.L. is the nucleus for the new youth league.

To accomplish this task it behooves the S.Y.L. to carefully analyze the existing workers' political youth organizations, indicate their inadequacies as militant leaders of the youth and formulate such policies as can win allies from these groups for the construction of a new youth movement.

At no time has the Young Communist League succeeded in reaching, not to speak of organizing, the large masses of young workers and students. The C.C.Y.M., however, is making a bold bid for the leadership of the Canadian youth, and it is especially necessary to examine very carefully this new development in the Canadian working class movement.

The fundamental defect in both the Y.C.L. and C.C.Y.M. is their organizational and political domination by the adult parties, the Stalinist Communist Party and the C.C.F. respectively. Both parties rejecting revolutionary Marxism, are incapable of developing militant youth organizations which can win the young workers against capitalism.

The bankruptcy of Stalinism and Social Democracy in Germany and Austria, the quickening march of Fascism and the sharpening class struggle have had a profound effect on the Canadian youth. This is reflected by the tremendous growth of the C.C.Y.M. in the short few months of its existence. It is on this background that our position on the C.C.Y.M. must be drawn.



The greatest potential source of recruitment for the new revolutionary youth movement is the C.C.Y.M. Under the impact of events in Germany and Austria and the sharpening class struggle in Canada, the C.C.Y.M. has taken the opportunity to multiply numerically and increase its influence and prestige. The new young workers who have been attracted in recent months have brought with them their problems and have pressed for their solution. Above all the political bankruptcy of the Y.C.L., the official revolutionary youth organization, have permitted this lease on life for the C.C.Y.M.

The C.C.Y.M is a definite right-centrist organization; ~~in actuality a reformist organization, yet it does not take the view of capitalism, and the bankruptcy of reformism.~~ a reformist organization employing revolutionary phraseology, e.g., 'the overthrow of capitalism', 'the bankruptcy of reformism', 'class-conscious organization', etc., etc. It has no clear program on any of the burning issues (militarism and war, fascism, trade union. students) or the basic issue of the road to power. Its leadership and the bulk of its membership accept the political leadership of the C.C.F., viz., 'The constitution of the C.C.Y.M. shall not violate or run counter to the spirit or the letter of the constitution of the C.C.F.' It differs essentially from the C.C.F., however, in the fact that it adopted a program of immediate demands at its first convention. An age limit of 35 guarantees the C.C.F. an artificial control of its youth organization. Within the ranks a serious interest is developing towards the fundamental problems of the revolutionary movement.

Not a year old, it claims a national membership of 5,000; 1,500 in Ontario; 300 in Toronto. The groups are scattered about the country with very loose organizational connections. As yet its strength lies



chiefly in Ontario and British Columbia. It undoubtedly has good possibilities for growth, particularly with the increased influence of the C.C.F. and its own increased propaganda and activity. This potential growth is seriously limited precisely because of the reformist program of the C.C.F., and its own confused policies.

The progressive character of the leftward drift of the Canadian youth, mirrored in the rapid growth of the C.C.Y.M., offers excellent opportunities for the Spartacus Youth League. The future of our movement depends a great deal on the effectiveness of our forms and methods of work. To date we have succeeded in establishing a small fraction in several units of the C.C.Y.M. in and around Toronto. Our fraction work must be developed cautiously, but at the same time without delay. The S.Y.L. despite its small and handicapped organization must make every effort to establish friendly relations with the C.C.Y.M., above all with the members. Debates, united front actions, etc., should be fostered by our units. The Young Militant, particularly, should play an important part in this work.

An especially important part of our C.C.Y.M. work is the question of internationalism. We should continually pose the international aspect of working class problems and the subsequent necessity for international ties and connections. Thus will present itself an excellent opportunity for popularizing the "International Bureau of Revolutionary Youth Organizations," with headquarters at Stockholm, Sweden. This Bureau, which grew out of the Luxembourg conference held some few months ago must march ahead to the formation of the new youth international. As a section of this Bureau, it is our profound duty to work concretely to build the new youth organization in Canada under the banner of the 4th International. In this regard it becomes necessary to explain the general bankruptcy of the 2nd and 3rd Internationals, and their youth section.



While there is displayed a growing interest in the problems of the revolutionary movement, there is a marked antipathy towards the Y.C.L. The Stalinist youth are looked upon as disrupters and disorganizers, and this feeling has been exploited by the leadership as an excuse to postpone indefinitely the question of the United Front. As yet the C.C.Y.M. has no position on this major tactic. We must take advantage of every opportunity to press for united ~~front~~ action on specific issues; our proposals, while directed to the leadership must be coupled with a constant agitation amongst the rank and file. We must realize that the membership are composed in the great majority of sincere young workers anxious to further the cause of socialism.

Such questions as: (1) Internationalism

(2) Reduction of age-limit

(3) United Front

(4) Clear position on War, Fascism

(5) Industrial Work

(6) Student Work, etc., etc.,

will constitute the major part of our fraction work. This, coupled with mass meetings, Young Militant articles, debates and friendly contacts between S.Y.L. and C.C.Y.M. members will guarantee the steady growth of our ideas in the C.C.Y.M.

We must clearly understand that as yet we are not the new revolutionary youth league, but only the nucleus for the creation of it. The C.C.Y.M. at present is the gauge which measures the radicalization of the Canadian youth. In it are contained the most militant and developed young workers in the country. We must devote a great part of our attention to this organization. In the coming months the C.C.Y.M. will experience great internal struggles. The left-wing today is weak and disorganized; centred chiefly around the issue of the United Front.

must organize this left-wing and give it guidance and leadership. Out of the C.C.Y.M. may come the basis for the launching of the new revolutionary youth league in Canada.

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# Workers' Party of Canada

TORONTO, ONT.

May 18th 1935

V. Suomela  
Sec'y " Vapaa Sana"  
36 Willison Sq.  
Toronto, Ont.

Dear Comrades:

For over a year's time the Workers Party of Canada has published an official organ " The Vanguard". This has been published once a month and has been got out by the voluntary labor of our comrades.

We decided some months ago that this was entirely inadequate for the work that lay before us in the labor movement in Canada. A decision was made, to put on a campaign to raise a fund so as to make it possible to issue the Vanguard at least twice a month.

Our forces in Canada are small compared with other organizations and only the loyalty and self-sacrifice of our comrades has made this fund possible. We have not yet reached our objective but have determined that we can't delay longer and intend publishing the first issue of the new Vanguard by the first of June. We have come to an agreement to have the paper printed at the Vapaa Sana plant.

We are aware that the comrades interested in the Vapaa Sana are devoted to the international struggle of the working class for the abolition of capitalism and are interested in the spread of true working class propaganda and education. The Workers Party of Canada is part of that International Section of the working class which believes, that both the 2nd. and 3rd. Internationals are bankrupt and that a new 4th international is necessary. The Communist Party of Canada ( Stalinist) has marked out our Party for one of the most vicious and lying campaigns imaginable. They publish their paper The Worker three times per week and it is impossible for us to in any way meet their campaign with the small official organ we have had up till the present. We trust we will take a long step in meeting this situation by publishing our organ twice a month to start off with and be able soon to publish once per week.

In our campaign we have appealed to all truly revolutionary elements to assist us. Till now we have not approached the Finnish comrades. We do so now with confidence that we will receive some assistance or donation from you. We want of course to leave this matter entirely to you, but we might suggest that if probably you are not in a position to give actual financial assistance, that something in the nature of a contribution on the printing might be arranged. We can assure you that any donation you find it possible to make will be greatly appreciated by the comrades of our Party and that it will be of great assistance to us in our work. Trusting your comrades will consider this request favorably.

We are comradely yours,  
For the Workers Party of Can.

*J. MacDonald. Secy*



Jack MacDonald



Maurice Spector



(Sept. 2, 1935)

THE **VANGUARD**

# Stalinist Social Patriotism

By Jack Macdonald

There is no more pitiable figure in the ranks of Stalinism in Western Canada than W. (Bill) Bennett. He had the reputation in the past of being an erratic Marxist in the West, during the days of the Western Clarion, organ of the once influential Socialist Party of Canada. Many of them found that their "Marxism" prevented them joining the Communist Party at its formation. As in all workers' organizations, the Russian Revolution created a great ferment in the ranks of the S.P. of C., Bennett was one who took his stand with the forces proclaiming the need for the building of a new, Third International—a recognition of the degeneration and collapse of the Second.

When recently reading in the B. C. Workers News, a most childish attempt by one F. Biggs, to deal with the question of the Permanent Revolution, in which he quoted from Marx' speech in 1850, we recalled W. Bennett's keen interest in the publication many years ago in Vancouver, in popular cheap pamphlet form of, "Two Speeches by Karl Marx" — a very creditable work, published then for the first time in English language. It is regrettable that he Stalinists don't read such material today.

## Marxist Education

We have also marvelled how men laying claim to a Marxist and Leninist education could accept the political line and analysis of Stalinism dished up to the loyal unthinking followers in the name of Leninism; how they could have stomached the chaff and trash that comes from the mouths and pens of sycophants, satellites and general hangers-on, large and small, paying their homage and babbling of Stalin as the foremost disciple of our great teachers. There is excuse for recruits, who are not only denied the possibilities of reading the basic works of the masters (they are interpreted for them) but a falsified and fabricated history is served up to them in the guise of political training.

Nothing Stalinism fears more than true Marxist-Leninist education.

## Bennett Slays "Trotskyism"

It was with considerable interest we turned to a feature article in the B.C. Workers News, from the pen of Bill Bennett — "Trotskyism and the Franco-Soviet Pact". Bennett writes but seldom and we confess to being curious sometimes as to what some of the "old timers" think of the mess

of hodge-podge that goes for communist policy today, and to a half expectancy that some day, a not too obscure, "honest Marxist" in the ranks will break his mental prison and cry Halt! Enough!

But to Bennett's article. After getting over about half a column of epithets, the Stalinites' stock in trade for political argument today, we are informed that we (the Trotskyists) dare not "go to Lenin for inspiration", that we have as little understanding of Marx as had Kautsky, etc. All of which proves nothing. Bennett will also recall that Lenin referred to the days when "Kautsky was still a Marxist", which reference in our estimation can be applied with equal justification to other individuals today.

Bennett furthermore sets up straw men to slay them. We have never denied the right of a Workers' State to take advantage of the antagonism between the imperialists powers, or to enter into temporary alliance or agreements with them. He quotes at great length from Lenin's letter to the American workers in 1918. This letter by the way, has been dug up as the standard argument of the whole Stalinist Press, not in justification of a temporary "agreement" with a capitalist power (Lenin always placed the word agreement in these instances in inverted commas) but to justify an unprincipled and opportunistic political line and strategy.

## On Agreements

"The beasts of prey of Anglo-French and American Imperialism 'accuse' us", Lenin writes to the American workers, "of coming to an 'agreement' with German Imperialism. They pretend not to see the difference between an agreement by 'socialists' with the bourgeoisie (native or foreign) AGAINST THE WORKERS, against the toilers, and an agreement for the SAFETY OF THE WORKERS who have defeated their own bourgeoisie, with the bourgeoisie of one national color against the bourgeoisie of another national color for the sake of the utilization by the proletariat of the contradictions of the different groups of the bourgeoisie." And so what Mr. Bennett?

Bennett would have the workers believe that this 'agreement' and language is similar to the Stalin-Laval Pact. It may be legitimate also for a Marxist to remark in parenthesis that in 1918 the heroic skeleton of a Red Army was fighting with arms in hand and back to the wall. But is

Lenin here "approving" of bourgeois "national defense", imperialist militarism or subjecting the revolutionary movement to its service?

The Stalin-Laval communique states before the workers of the whole world:

"Stalin understood and fully approved the policy of national defence pursued by France with a view to maintaining her armed forces on a level with her security". Just in the self-same style that the social patriots betrayed the international in 1914.

We have heard Bennett in the days when he was still a Marxist vehemently denounce these words from the mouths of the "socialists" who also understood and approved the policy of national defence.

## Bennett Explains

"The signing of this treaty does not mean that the French proletariat gives up its struggle against the French bourgeoisie, against imperialist war, against Fascism. It strengthens the working class fight on all fronts." So asserts apologist Bennett.

But we prefer not to take Bennett's word for this. We prefer to judge by the pronouncements, policy and activity of the French Communist Party, which have all been signed and sealed by the Seventh Congress of the C.I.

Thorez, leader of the French C.P., declared in a speech delivered on May 17th, in answer to a question as to whether the Bolshevik slogan "Turn Imperialist War into Civil War" would be applied by the French C.P. against the government of France as an ally of the Soviet Union, in the event of war by Hitler Germany against the Soviet Union.

Has this anything in common with the advice and policy of Lenin for the workers of Germany, during the temporary 'agreement' with German Imperial? "Each of us would readily hang his partner," said Lenin.

## Struggle or Capitulation

The "Marxist" Bennett informs us that the alliance "is aimed against Fascism". Is this why the Laval government is giving material support to Italian Fascism?

"It is not a defense of French Imperialism FROM the revolution, but a defense of the WORKING-CLASS FROM FASCISM, FRENCH FASCISM as well as German Fascism."

Bennett doesn't explain just how

(continued on Page 4) → p 2



# Stalinism and Social Patriotism

(Continued from Page 3)

the Pact is a defense against French Fascism. Probably he means that the French Capitalist class will have nothing to do with Fascism in that country of "revolutionary traditions of the Republic.

The Worker of August 10th, under the caption, "Dimitroff outlines World Anti-Fascist tasks", reports Dimitroff as follows:

"When the anti-fascist movement in France leads to the formation of an early anti-fascist government and this government carries out the program of the anti-fascist front, the Communists—will be ready to support such a government.

And the program? "Disarming the conspirators against the REPUBLIC, against the agents of HITLER, cleansing the state apparatus of the army and police of fascists, the development of a struggle against the reactionary cliques of the Catholic Church and the linking of the army with the anti-fascist movement." What a mockery!

But our Vancouver Marxist claims that the Pact signed by the present French government is a defense against French Fascism. Why not a support of the Laval government? The Seventh Congress has decreed that "anti-fascist" governments are to be supported. These are bourgeois governments no matter if Dimitroff terms them "Peoples' Governments. The Communist Parties are "willing as well to participate in non-communist but anti-fascist governments."

"The Communist Party will actively support such a government if the government has a platform against fascism and reaction regardless whether the communist party enters into the government or not." (Seventh Congress).

## Support "Democratic" against Fascist Governments

This leads inevitably to the support of "democratic" governments against "fascist" governments. To support the "lesser" of the two evils. Did not social democracy resort to this policy in Germany, while on the other hand, the Stalinists dubbed every government before Hitler "fascist"?

Lest this should be thought an exaggeration or an invention of the "Trotskyists" let Wm. Pieck, reporter at the 7th Congress, speak:

"Should German Fascism attempt to conquer the small European States, their war against fascism will be a righteous war, WHICH WE WILL SUPPORT."

The Comintern will call upon the down-trodden masses of Roumania, Bulgaria, Jugo-Slavia, Latvia, Estonia, to lay down their lives in a

"righteous war" for democracy against fascism.

We have listened attentively for Litvinov's voice to be raised against Italian Fascism in behalf of Ethiopia — but in vain. Probably because Abyssinia has not yet a democracy—or can it be because of this Pact which defends the revolution? Or maybe just a plain "What the hell of Ethiopia, if we have socialism in the Soviet Union?"

## Another Betrayal Prepared

It was in this opportunistic morass that the betrayal of the international working class by social democracy was hatched in the 2nd International. The German workers were exhorted to fight against "bloody Czarism"; British workers against "German Junkerism", etc. Which did not prevent "republican" France, fighting with medieval Czarism. The International was "an instrument of peace not of war". The class struggle was "suspended" to fight for the maintenance of national culture, democracy and what not. The struggle would be resumed with all the more vigor because of the sacrifices of the masses, after reaction had been defeated and the hard-won democratic rights of our forefathers maintained inviolate.

## Lenin on National Defense

Just to show that we can go to Lenin for inspiration against Stalin and Bill Bennett, we recall his famous April thesis that threw consternation into the ranks of the "old bolsheviks, who have more than once played a melancholy part in the history of the Party." (Lenin).

"The class conscious proletariat can give its consent to a revolutionary war, which would really justify a 'revolutionary defense' on the following conditions only (a) the transfer of power into the hands of the proletariat and of the poorest sections of the peasantry allied to it. (b) the renunciation of all annexation in deed and not merely in word, (c) a complete rupture in actual practice with all the interests of capital." (April Thesis).

Is this the policy being pursued in France? Positively not! The recent spontaneous strikes against the reduction of wage decrees of the Laval Government have been repudiated by the Socialist Communist — et al — "Peoples' Front". Humanite, organ of the French C.P. actually goes the length of blaming the Fascists for organizing them in an effort to embarrass the government and to disturb the tranquility of the country. The C.P. has supported a demand for a parliamentary enquiry to determine responsibility for the actions.

Thorez also writes in Humanite:

"We say to M. Herriot and the

Radical Socialist leaders (not the leaders of the Socialist Party but a capitalist bourgeois party) if you take over the leadership of a radical government which really pursues a radical (?) policy, a policy in line with the demands of the majority (?) of the people you can be assured of our support not only in the Chamber but also in the country.

## Capitulation

What is this but an open and brazen betrayal of the workers' movement? Coalition and class collaboration! Bill Bennett knows enough of French politics not to be fooled as the man in the street might be with the term "radical". He knows who the Radical Socialists are in France. He knows the service they have rendered to French capitalism and imperialism at every turn against the workers. He knows Herriot and his tribe.

Never did the Social Democrats (or shall we say the social-fascists?) so blatantly supported a policy of class peace.

Our Western Marxist also quotes Marx in 1853 and draws the most shameless conclusions from him. We will deal with this in our next issue. Not all the misrepresentation and blustering of a Bennett can hide the great betrayal of the once revolutionary Communist International or its sacrifices on the altar of national chauvinism. This has its theoretical origin in the revision of Marx and Lenin, in the renunciation of the internationalism of the working class struggle and its displacement by the false theory of "socialism in a single country". The collapse of the international, the long series of defeats are but the inevitable corollary and price of the crushing of the Bolsheviks by the usurper Stalin. His miserable henchmen in all countries continue to prepare further defeats.

Stalinism once again attempts to drag the teachings of Marx and Lenin and may we humbly add Trotsky—the greatest living revolutionist — down into the bogs of opportunism and bourgeois national defense from which it was rescued in the days of the formation of the Third International when men like Bill Bennett and a few others of his comrades were not afraid to think for themselves. But the revolutionary cadres in all lands have again raised the banner high. Marx and Lenin are not dead. They live in the hearts and minds of tens of thousands of workers, who call once more to the class conscious proletariat to forge their revolutionary parties and New Fourth International for the onslaught on capitalism and imperialism under the Flag of Revolutionary Internationalism.



Oct. 26/35.

## All Branches of the Spartacus Youth League:

It is unfortunate that the contents of Letter #1 was not as clear as it might have been. Firstly, it was our intention to send a condensed report on the International Youth Buro, and so we asked for a running translation of the European letter. The secretary then changed his mind, and the results were a rather hazy, in some parts rather unintelligible, report. The City Committee (Toronto) has asked us to include a short report on the same question in this letter. For further reference, we refer you to the "New Militant" Vol. I, No. 43, Oct. 19, 1935, where a detailed report is published.

The report on The League Against War & Fascism, containing as it did, an account of the numerous labor organizations in this country, was wanting, because our membership is not clear on the exact nature and role of these organizations. As a result, we have detailed our educational director to prepare a paper containing a synopsis of the program, social composition, etc., of the various Canadian labor organizations. This will be submitted to the units when completed.

Several bulletins in French and German have arrived during the past week, and are now in the process of being translated. This information will likewise be sent you when ready. Our translating facilities are very limited, and as a result, this is a slow and laborious task. We trust the branches will understand this, if reports reach you at a late date.

AGENDA

1. Youth Buro.
2. French Youth.
3. Publications.
4. War Situation.
5. Vancouver.

1. YOUTH BURO As was reported in the last letter, the buro no longer exists. To be brief, it was predominantly centrist in composition, the I.C.L. representing the only Leninist position. The S.J.V. (youth section of the German Socialist Workers Party) held the balance between ourselves on the left, and the Swedish youth and Mot Dag (Norway) on the extreme right. The latter, by the way, supports the bourgeois politics of the reactionary Norwegian Labor Party, now in power. The S.J.V. declared that their differences with Mot Dag were not nearly so fundamental and deepgoing as their differences with the I.C.L.; that it was impossible to continue working with the "disloyal factionalists" of the I.C.L. Our delegate, Walter Held, was forced to leave. All that remains of the Youth Buro is some right centrist rubbish, whom we mistakenly thought we could influence in association with us. We must now orientate the organizations of the international youth inside the framework of the Fourth International.

2. FRENCH YOUTH Our comrades report undeniable progress. While the Boulogne Congress mustered a heterogeneous majority against us, a bloc of three tendencies (Zeller, Bol-Len., Spartacus) actually has the majority on the basis of clear revolutionary slogans-- (Workers' Militia, Arming of the People, General Strike, Down with all national defense, Against the holy union, Revolutionary Defeatism, etc.) It is only on the international plan that there are any differences: All agree in declaring the bankruptcy of the 2nd International, some



sanctioning a New International (The Spartacus led by the S.A.P.), while the Bol-Len's declare the necessity for a 4th International.

The Stalinists who had sent the leaders of the Y.C.I. and of the Russian Y.C.I. (Tchomodanoff and Kossaret) to plot with the leaders of the revolutionary minority of the Young Socialists, in persuading them of the necessity of "Defending the USSR by every means", understanding thereby National Defence and refusal to make their own revolution, and who have vainly tried to buy over a leader of the Young Socialists since his return from the USSR, have completely failed in the Young Socialists. Their motion demanding the expulsion of the Trotskyites got only 27 votes out of more than 400. In Seine and Ase the Bol-Len motion even got the majority.

Since these events nine of the "left" leaders have been expelled, including ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ the most influential of our comrades. Our press has been carrying detailed accounts of this.

"The 'Left' of the S.F.I.O (Pivert) sees in the split only an episode, protests against bureaucratisation, solidarizes itself with those expelled, but relies on legal proceedings. The rupture in the Bataille Socialiste tendency, between Pivert and Zyromski is accomplished. A new stage begins in the SFIO, the desperate struggle of the Right and of the apparatus, upheld by the Stalinists, against the whole revolutionary wing, up to the point of a split. This is what the Piverts who cling to the watchword: 'unity', do not want to see. It is not excluded that in the Federation of the Seine, the Bol. Len. tendency and the Pivert tendency will go a short distance together (seize the leadership of the Federation, ordinary mass organ, etc.). We must from now on, take the orientation towards INEVITABLE INDEPENDENCE, AT FIRST IN THE YOUTH, WHERE IT IS ON THE ORDER OF THE DAY, THEN WITH THE ADULTS. (our emphasis H.K.) All the time while demanding their reinstatement pure and simple, the expelled youth must continue and amplify their outside work."

From IOL minutes, August 5, 1935.

3. PUBLICATIONS Trotsky's letter has been distributed--50 to Vancouver, 100 to Toronto; the other 150 are on hand. We expect every comrade to dispose of these within the next few weeks. The .2¢ per copy will enable us to publish another bulletin of similar importance.

The CCF pamphlet is only half mimeographed. Technical help is holding us back. We would like each unit (Toronto) to send in at least two names of individuals who would like to learn mimeographing.

The Publication Fund (What is SYL) has \$2.39 to-date. The entire amount was contributed by the centre unit, the result of a successful social. We call on the other branches to do their share. \$25.00 is needed to ensure publication. Meanwhile the pamphlet lies in our files and grows dusty with age. Financial aid is needed, now, immediately, otherwise the pamphlet will become outdated. Toronto undertook to raise the funds--we know they will not fall down on this undertaking.



4. WAR SITUATION The war crisis intensifies daily. The newspapers carry glowing accounts of the battles in Ethiopia, and so emphasize the question of War. We must exploit this situation to the utmost. England and the League may succeed in localizing the war area. It is not without the bounds of possibility that concessions may be granted, of a character sufficiently large to stop Mussolini. Of course, it is just as possible, that the crisis may be the spark for a new world war, spreading to Europe and elsewhere--(Germany to the SU or France; Japan going still farther into China, etc.). It would be foolish to say definitely one way or the other. But regardless, there is one definite, immediate task that confronts us. We must take advantage of what is taking place. Our ideas find a most fertile field in great historical crises. One month's intensive activity and propaganda to-day can represent a year's activity of yesterday. Mass meetings, just as often as possible, are on the immediate order of the day. The N.C. will collaborate with the Toronto membership, financially and otherwise, in order to make this possible. We have asked for help from the Party, and they will do everything that is possible. If we are ever to gain the youth to our program and organization, we must do it now.

Meanwhile the NC continues to work in the League against War and Fascism, acting as a disciplined caucus, in conjunction with the Party and a couple of other left wing grouping who also have a revolutionary position on the war question. At the same time we are taking the necessary step to launch an independent conference against war. A manifesto was drawn up and distributed at the last session of the League. We submit below excerpts from the NC minutes of Oct. 21st:

"Johnstone reported on League session held Friday, Oct. 21st at Labor Temple. Other delegate-Kennedy. Session called to discuss Program of Action, flowing out of decision to support League of Nations in economic sanctions. Our delegates moved a preamble to this Program, 'for independent working class action, etc.' which was ruled out of order. We also attempted to amend section dealing with 'setting up of shop committees' as follows: 'for purpose of sabotaging Italian shipments and facilitating Ethiopian shipments'; also ruled out of order. The chairman's arbitrary and bureaucratic manner evoked opposition, even from some Stalinists present. At the conclusion of the 'Program' McLeod made a vitriolic personal attack on the Spartacus delegates. He said that 'Kennedy & Johnstone were only a couple of adolescents, representing nobody but themselves, who have been politically and mentally raped by Spector and MacDonald, etc. etc.'. This time the chairman could not stop our reply, and McLeod was handled very effectively. The question of Military sanctions was then forced. W. Cohen (of our caucus) moved 'unalterable opposition'. McLeod seconded this. This gave us the opportunity to discuss the whole question of the League of Nations, etc. We abstained for obvious reasons, (It is pacifism to support League in Econ. Sanc. and stop at military--our position is that the two are inseparable--H.K.) and most of the Stalinists present did likewise. The motion was carried about 10 to nothing. The session then adjourned. Further action to be discussed in conjunction with Party and Caucus." (quoted verbatim from NC SYL minutes)

5. VANCOUVER Two sets of minutes have been received. There are 10 members and the unit is getting into action very quickly. Our fraction in the Young Socialist League has been instructed to fight for fusion on a revolutionary program only, and to oppose it on an equivocal base. This question is now on the order of the day in B.C. Further reports to follow.



The CCYM in BC is also ready to discuss fusion, and it goes without saying that our fraction there will also fight for the same program. Their organization is much more to the left of the CCYM in Ontario and elsewhere, and are independent of the CCF.

The Vancouver unit is establishing fraternal relations with the American Spartacus units on the Pacific coast, as most of the problems are similar. They are preparing the publication of a paper.

With Revolutionary Greetings,

NATIONAL COMMITTEE (PROVISIONAL)

SPARTACUS YOUTH LEAGUE OF CANADA.

H. Kennedy,  
Secretary.



# THE VANGUARD

Official Organ of the Workers Party of Canada

VOLUME 3 — NEW SERIES — NO. 13

Toronto, November 30, 1935

PRICE THREE CENTS

## LABOUR PLANS INDEPENDENT ANTI-WAR ACTION

### BRITISH TORIES WIN

Labor Party Leaders Manouvered Into Hopeless Position  
—Put Forth Poor Copies of Imperialist Policies—  
Stalinists Capture Lone Seat

#### EVENTS PUSH I. L. P. REVOLUTIONARY PATH

The Baldwin government was returned to power by a majority that exceeded every Tory expectation. The distribution by parties in the new House of Commons is:

For the National Government: Conservatives, 385; Liberal National 32; National Labor, 8; National, 3; total, 428.

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For the National Government: Conservatives, 385; Liberal National 32; National Labor, 8; National, 3; total, 428.

Against the government: Labor, 154; Liberal, 17; Independent Liberal, 4; Independent Labor Party, 4; Communist, 1; Independent 3; total, 183. Four seats were still in doubt when these lists were compiled.

If one considers the entire national and international background of this election, the British working class, under the leadership of the class-collaborationist, pro-"sanctions," Labor Party, has sustained a severe defeat. The increased Labor representation from the low-water mark of 52 in the elections of 1931, will be no occasion for mad revelry in the ranks even of the British Labor bureaucracy.

The Conservative strategists themselves, who learned their "cricket" on the playing fields of Eton, did not expect a government majority of 250. In the face of such a majority the return of the lone Stalinist Gallacher will hardly send any tremor through the Empire, particularly as the Stalinists stood for "sanctions" and the "League" as staunchly as Sir Samuel Hoare.

**Labor Party Prepares Own Defeat**  
For the past four years the Labor Party has assiduously prepared its own defeat. When you estimate the results, remember that the Labor Party has already formed two Labor governments. The British Labour Party is the party of the majority of the organized British working class.

In these past four years, the army of nearly two million unemployed has not appreciably declined. Wages and the social services have been reduced. Conditions in the "distressed" (Continued on Page 4)

### Japan Makes New Grab in China

Imperialist Rivalry Sharpens In Orient

By Chris Morrow

Japan, carefully and deliberately, is carrying through the plan of conquest that was set forth in the well known Tanaka Memorandum some years ago. In its execution there are none of the blundering, bull-headed tactics that have characterized Mussolini's attack on Ethiopia. Manchuria was added to the Japanese empire but before proceeding further, the gain in this area was carefully consolidated. Japanese capital has poured into Manchuko, particularly for the development of the railroad system, alongside which industry is being opened up. One of the most important moves in the consolidation of the conquest of Manchuria was the acquisition of the Chinese Eastern Railroad from the U.S.S.R. This gave Japan complete control over the whole area.

Manchuko under her thumb, Japan is now ready to take over the five provinces of North China, a region rich in resources and heavily populated. This will make Japan the most important factor by far in the Orient and will give her a tremendous boost in the game of imperialist rivalry. The idea is that the Five Northern Provinces of Chahar, Suiyuan, Shansi, Hopei and Shantung, will declare their independence of China and set up an "autonomous" government. No-one is fooled into thinking that they will have any "autonomy" Japan intends to be and will be the controlling force there. She is prepared to use military force as armed attempts are made to prevent the provinces from becoming "independent".

Japan is proceeding cautiously in gaining control over this area. The preliminary steps have already been taken and now it is only a matter of giving the finishing touch. North China is already in the hands of Japan to a very considerable degree. The Japanese have taken over the policing of Tientsin and Peiping and have dissolved the military organization of the Chinese government in North China. The separation movement was carefully prepared and declaration of independence was about to be made when Chiang Kai-shek, ruler of China, began to raise his voice in protest. At the first sign (Continued on Page 4)

### Fight Enemy at Home

#### Nationalist Riots Flare in Cairo

Students Shot Down by British Police

Six were killed and over a hundred wounded last week, when nationalist riots, first echoes in Britain's colonial empire of the Ethiopian explosion, flared in Cairo. London's hypocritical slobbering over Ethiopia becomes particularly nauseating when her record in Egypt is considered. Not once, but twice, in 1923 and in 1930 has she granted the Egyptians a constitution and twice revoked it. Britain's attempt to blame Italian agents for the unrest is one of those things that would be funny if they weren't so crude. The Egyptians have instinctively solidarized themselves with Ethiopia, fighting to keep from her neck the yoke they have so long endured themselves.

Nahas Pasha, president of the Wafd (Nationalist) Party has stated that a protest has been sent the League of Nations and the Wafd are "seeking the world's sympathy in our struggle". Nahas Pasha has to learn apparently, that the real power of a nationalist movement lies in its awakened workers and peasantry. And an essential part of that awakening is to learn how to deal with Nahas Pasha.

#### Narrow Escape for Taschereau

New Combination Nearly Carries Quebec

Insurgent Liberals, together with a traditional enemy, the Conservative opposition, combined to give Taschereau, the veteran servant of Quebec big business, one of the toughest fights of his career. Last week's elections cut his majority from 66 to 6. Many people regard the formation of the rebel group, the Action Liberal Nationale, as a promising revolt of youth against reactionary age. Most of its leaders are in their thirties. But there is little (Continued on page 4)

### CONFERENCE CALLED FOR DEC. 15TH. CONDEMNS CAPITALIST SANCTIONS PACIFISM AND NATIONS LEAGUE

Canadian Workers! Do you realize how close to the brink of another 1914 you are? Today you see the prelude in Ethiopia; to-morrow the main act will go on. We have the brutal lessons of 1914-18, learned at the cost of the lives of millions of young workers, — a whole generation sacrificed to the capitalist lust for Empire and profits. How shall we give effect to these lessons, how are we to go about applying the brakes to the grim juggernaut that is hurtling madly towards the abyss of war?

#### B.C. Youth Unite On Centrist Basis

Spartacus Gets Support for Revolutionary Program

The long contemplated fusion between the Young Socialist League and the Cooperative Commonwealth Youth in British Columbia has at last been accomplished. The two organizations, for long floundering in confusion, have finally arrived at complete unity in an organization known as the Y.S.L. B.C. section of the C.C.Y.M.

Prior to the convention the Y.S.L. had existed as a nebulous organization having no clear-cut political program, subordinate to no party and having in its ranks diverse political elements. Its main activities were social and educational.

The position of C.C.Y. was slightly different, inasmuch as it was part of the C.C.Y.M. which on a national scale is subordinate to the C.C.F. In actual practice the C.C.Y. wholeheartedly supported the C.C.F. in B.C. although its affiliation in the province was only fraternal. The C.C.Y. was moreover lacking in a definite organized left wing whereas in the Y.S.L. such a wing was rapidly consolidating itself and attempting to infuse some definite revolutionary clarity into the otherwise existing confusion.

The joint convention, called for drafting a manifesto and constitution saw the presentation by the left wing of the Y.S.L. of a definite revolutionary program containing the declaration of the bankruptcy of the 2nd and 3rd Internationals and calling for support and co-operation in building the new International. Out of eighty delegates present approximately twenty consistently voted for the resolutions supporting the revolutionary program as a basis of unity.

The C.C.F. stooges waxed especially indignant over the section in the program stating that the C.C.F. is "a party of parliamentary illusions and class collaboration", and succeeded in having an ambiguous manifesto adopted which speaks in vague terms of abolitions of capitalism but without any concrete statement of how this will be accomplished.

The manifesto and constitution adopted give evidence that the new organization is a replica of the contradictions of the 2nd old one. Headless and tailless, with no clear-cut revolutionary policy, it can serve only, as it is at present constituted to lead the youth of B.C. to confusion.

The role of the revolutionary wing in the new organization must be one of instilling revolutionary clarity into the minds of the rank and file in contradistinction to those who believe in shilly-shallying and heading nowhere, but into the morass of reaction.

(Continued on Page 2)

Labor has nothing to gain, it has everything to lose by fighting for "its" government in a capitalist war! To heed the shrill cries of all the multitudinous agents and labor lieutenants of imperialism, that they must serve "their" country in the hour of need, must submerge their "selfish", "sectional", interests in the national good; in short must give up the class struggle in favor of civil peace — that is suicide for the organized working class. That is what support of the League of Nations and of Sanctions must inevitably lead to — paralysis of the class war, and the delivery of the workers, bound hand and foot, to serve as the pawns of the imperialist General Staffs and their war machines. The parties of the Second and Third Internationals who contest the leadership of the masses, claiming that they will bring them to Socialism, crown their long history of betrayals and treacheries by calling on the workers to support the League, i.e., British and French imperialism in their conflict with Italian imperialism! What is this but the preparation for a repetition of 1914, when the Socialist parties, voting for war budgets, calling for defence of the Fatherland, served as recruiting sergeants for capitalism? The workers must realize that they have no Fatherland, that it is not their country, as long as its wealth and means of production are the property of the privileged few. They must know that their enemy is not the Italian, or the German or Japanese working class, but their own capitalist class, their own capitalist government. They must organize and give life to their knowledge! The (continued on page 2)

### FASCIST INSOLENCE GROWS

French Croix de Feu Slays Workers and Defies Laval

By H.F.R.

At Limoges on November 17 some 30 French Socialist workers were wounded when members of the Croix de Feu opened fire.

"The shooting definitely establishes beyond any possible doubt," says the Daily Worker, "that the Croix de Feu is well-armed for a Fascist coup".

It also proved that the workers were facing the well-armed Fascists with nothing but their bare hands.

Cachin, says the Daily Worker, wants to oust Laval because the government "has not yet made any

arrests among the Fascist gunmen." What is Cachin going to do about it?

Edouard Herriot, Radical co-minister of Laval, is the present beau-ideal of the Stalinists for premier — or at least foreign minister.

But this week "Comrade" Herriot bluntly declared that he was "fully in accord" with Laval, that he would countenance no attempt to overthrow Laval, and that he, Herriot, would not take part in any cabinet designed to succeed Laval's.

Dutifully Leon Blum declared before the delegation of Radical-Social (continued on page 2)

### Progress Made In Saskatoon by W.P.

Y.C.L. Organizer Takes Stand Against League Sanctions

The inevitable is happening to the Stalinist party of Saskatoon. On November 17, at an open Forum, a young comrade of the Y.C.L. spoke on League sanctions. He exposed them for what they were, sanctions in favour of the capitalist class, applied by them for their own benefit, through their tool, the League of Nations. This comrade was in favour of sanctions applied by the independent action of the workers. He pointed out that the stand the bureaucrats of the U.S.S.R. had taken towards sanctions, was a betrayal of the workers on a world scale.

After his speech a broad discussion took place, and questions were asked. One comrade stated that he was a Trotskyite, a Bolshevik-Leninist. He made a good impression on the meeting because he took the stand of independent action of the workers towards sanctions, and emphasized (Continued from Page 3)

### Socialists, Stalinists Prepare U.S. Fusion.

Joint Meeting Held in Madison Square Gardens

The organizational unity with the forces of the Second International which is the logical consequence of the reformist policies adopted by the Seventh Comintern Congress draws appreciably closer in the United States. 20,000 people listened in Madison Square Gardens the other night while Norman Thomas, the S.P. chief and Earl Browder secretary of the C.P. debated their differences in the friendliest way. Jay Lovestone and his merry men the alleged Right Opposition of the C.P. are also getting in on the horse trade. Lovestone is to get a pie card in the C.P. while two of his chief lieutenants, Herberg and Zimmerman, go into the S.P. all working to make the two organizations into one big happy family. We may expect soon to find them all in the same fold, raising their voices in a mighty chorus denouncing Hitler, Mussolini and Leon Trotsky.

### NEW PARTY ALIVE IN SPAIN

Anarchist and Socialists Lose Confidence of Workers

A new revolutionary party has been founded in Spain on the basis of the fusion of the Spanish section of the International Communist League with the Workers and Peasants' Bloc. Both organizations already exercised a considerable influence in certain districts in Spain and unification will strengthen them considerably. In Estramadura, for example the Spanish I.C.L., numbering 400 comrades, exercises a mass influence on the political life of the region and several unions are under its influence. The Workers & Peasants Bloc is strongest in Catalonia and Valencia where it number 5 to 6,000 members. Its paper, LA BATALLA, has a circulation of 10,000.

The opportunities for the development of the new Spanish party are particularly favorable in the present situation. Despite the severe repression following on the insurrectionary movement in October 1934, the fighting spirit of the workers has not been crushed, although in many instances they have been confused and

disoriented as a result of the betrayal of the trust that they had placed in the old parties. The anarchists have lost considerably due to the cowardice and treachery that they displayed in the revolutionary events of last year. The Socialist party shows signs of angling for co-operation with more reactionary parties. The Stalinist party rises and falls according to the financial backing that it receives from Moscow. When the leaders of the Spanish C.P. went to the recent Congress to attempt to settle their clique differences, the party practically disappeared from the political scene.

The issues on which the battles of Oct. 1934 were fought, have not been solved, and will not be solved until the disappearance of the present order. If the new Spanish party hews to the line of revolutionary action, helps to build the Fourth International and sets its roots in the mass working class movement, it will develop as the party which will lead the Spanish workers to their victory.

### Anti-fascist Meeting Boycotts Germany

Toronto Jewish Labor Holds Conference

Over 2,000 persons packed the Strand Theatre on Sunday, Nov. 24th at the rally held by the Jewish Anti-Fascist Conference. Mayor Simpson gave his benediction to what he called "this united front as it were" composed of Jewish Labor organizations. He said he hoped the "decent" nations would do something to fight Hitlerism. The Stalinist speaker lauded Simpson for his correct stand. The other speakers were Minna Hoffsky of the Left Poale Zion and M. Krenner of the Right Poale Zion. The Marxist line of the Workers Party was expressed by Comrade Macy, who, in a fighting speech, voiced the need for a united working class struggle against the bourgeoisie of all countries. The meeting adopted a resolution to boycott German goods and the Berlin Olympics and urged that Canada break diplomatic relations with Nazi Germany. Krenner of the ILGWU presided.



Issued by National Committee

Circular Letter # 3. December 4, 1935.

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1. DUES SYSTEM

The financial problem has been weighing down the national office for a good many months. For nearly two months no money has been turned in. Toronto claims that they are carrying all the practical work. Vancouver claims it is not in a position to pay dues. Which leaves us nothing, and that is not enough to carry on work. We are unable to publish, because the treasury is empty. A conference demands fees, we are made ineligible for we have none. Rent is needed; letters are held up for want of stamps. And so it goes. It is impossible to carry on. The N.C. had a thorough discussion of the situation, and the following system has been adopted. Not only Toronto, but Vancouver will have to pay as well. They will simply have to put their shoulders to the wheel, and if they are worth a grain of salt, they will see to it that national dues are paid.

- (a) Every member to be registered by December 20th.
- (b) Dues books and Stamps to be issued by January 1st.
- (c) Plan

	: Members from:		Branches :		C.C. or Branches:	
	: Branches :		from CC. :		from N. C. :	
Employed	:	.50	:	.45	:	.25
Student	:	.25	:	.20	:	.10
Unemployed	:	.10	:	.10	:	.05
Dues book	:	.10	:	.10	:	.10

As you see above, three denominations of stamps will be issued, a fifty, a twenty-five and a ten. The first is for employed, the second for students and employed who earn under ten dollars weekly, and the ten for unemployed. Vancouver and the Toronto C.C. will buy stamps from the N.C., for .25, 10 and 05 respectively. Vancouver will sell the stamps for the regular price to its members, but in Toronto where there is more than one branch, each unit is entitled to a small share of the dues, as above.

- (d) A regular organizational fee should be levied on all employed comrades by the C.C., in order to help carry the practical work. The N.C. will attempt to carry on for the next few months on the above basis, and will do its best to avoid special levies. This latter can only be avoided if the dues are remitted to the national office promptly.
- (e) Members 3 months in arrears are in bad standing and cannot vote.
- (f) Steps are being taken for a national tour for the party with the possibility of a conference at the conclusion of the tour. This will give us an opportunity for a national convention at the same time, if our progress warrants it. Unless members are registered and paid up, they will not be represented.
- (g) Stamps will be advanced in proportion to membership. Auditing should be done regularly - NC of branch books. This system to be carried out.

one month in ad-  
CC books: CC of  
1. 1936.





#### REACHING OUT

Like the industrial union movement, the CCF challenged the ugly, anti-immigrant sentiment – captured here in a 1935 Liberal Party election ad – that pervaded much of Canadian society.

IWA ARCHIVES

1935, the union secured a small wage increase and recognition of camp committees. More importantly, Clay Perry observed, “it put forest industry unionism, at least among the pulp cutters, on a firm footing, the basis of unionism in northern Ontario to this day” – a conclusion just as applicable to the Pacific Coast as it is to the Canadian Shield.

## The Parliamentary Road to Socialism

The Communist Party of Canada was not the only organization challenging the political and economic status quo in the 1930s. In 1932, representatives from various western-based farmer, labour, and socialist groups met in Calgary to debate the politics and possibilities of a non-communist, social democratic movement dedicated to a “far-reaching reconstruction of our economic and political institutions.” The new organization was called the “Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (Farmer Labour Socialist)” – the final three words indicating the delegates’ diverse, left-wing political backgrounds. A year later in Regina, delegates gathered again, this time at the CCF’s first national convention, to adopt a political program entitled, aptly, the “Regina Manifesto.”

“The CCF is a federation of organizations whose purpose is the establishment in Canada of a Co-operative Commonwealth in which the principle regulating production, distribution, and exchange will be supplying of human needs and not the making of profits,” read the manifesto’s preamble. “Social and economic transformation can be brought about by political action, through the election of a government inspired by [this] ideal...and supported by a majority of the people.” To this end, the CCF demanded public ownership of power, transportation, and communication companies and the creation of agricultural co-ops, socialized medical care, unemployment insurance, and a progressive income tax system. It was a government-centred vision of reform that reflected in part the influence of the League for Social Reconstruction, a group of university-based intellectuals from Toronto and Montreal that believed in socialism. At the helm of this new left-wing organization was a former Methodist minister, social activist, and labour Member of Parliament from Winnipeg, J.S. Woodsworth.

To many Depression-weary Canadians, this kinder, gentler path to economic and political salvation was attractive, especially at a time when the Communist Party, the other left-wing alternative, was opposed to working with moderate organizations and was tacking left and right in tandem with the shifting policy of the Communist International. In the wake of the Regina meeting, the CCF secured official opposition status in both British Columbia and Saskatchewan and sent seven members to the federal parliament in 1935 –

#### FACING PAGE

Fallers participating in the 1934 strike against Bloedel, Stewart, and Welch congregate at a picket camp in Campbell River on Vancouver Island.

IWA ARCHIVES



THE

C. C. E.

and the

CANADIAN YOUTH

Issued by

SPARTACUS YOUTH LEAGUE OF CANADA

DECEMBER 1935

Price 2 cents

VOL. I No. 2



## THE C.C.F. AND CANADIAN YOUTH

The last election results were by no means a startling revelation. What do these results signify? A radical opposition to the present crisis; a growing upheaval against capitalism. True, the bourgeoisie have a safety valve for this dangerous condition, in the usual 'ins and outs' of the two-party system, in a lot of sugar-coated promises of better conditions, labor codes, and what not, but only for the time being. It won't take long for the masses to realize that they were fooled again. And when that times comes, we shall be at the most crucial period in the history of the Canadian working class. That will mark the highest peak of the crisis in this country. The fate of the Canadian workers will be decided at that moment. If they once more grab blindly for a program that cannot solve the capitalist crisis, it is not too pessimistic to say that Fascism will grind them into the dust for decades.

The Alberta Social Creditors have just been swept into office. An intensive agitation with a program based on the miserable plight of the Western farmer was the reason for their success. Their maximum program revolves around the control of money and credit. They refuse to see the real root cause of the capitalist crisis, the fetters of private property. They will not encroach on the rights of property and ownership. As a result, all their legislation can only be enacted through the consent of the ruling class. The hopelessness of attempting to socialize credit under capitalism is made manifest before the last ballot has been cast. The first and immediate result of the Alberta election has been a tremendous drain on the deposits of the Provincial Bank; so much so, that to prevent complete bankruptcy, the government had to suspend the redemption of savings certificates. All other cure-alls, all other bourgeois democratic programs are foredoomed to a like failure.

Of particular interest to the young socialists of this country is the C.C.F. Its program, with its fourteen steps to socialism, should be examined in great detail. The fairly rapid growth of this party in the few years of its existence is no more a sign of the correctness of its program, than are the recent elections a sign of the correctness of the winning parties. A close scrutiny of the C.C.F. reveals five fundamental weaknesses, five vulnerable spots which prove beyond a shadow of a doubt, the utter impossibility of this party leading the Canadian workers to socialism.

I      WAR      It is on this life-and-death question of questions that the C.C.F. falls down most miserably. By taking an utterly unrealistic position of mere neutrality in the event of another Great War, the C.C.F. will render the workers helpless and impotent before the gigantic war-machine. Because the European and American forerunners of the C.C.F. did not understand, or where they knew better, did not teach the only true method of fighting war - that of revolutionary struggle to overthrow capital-



ism and set up workers' governments in the warring countries - they came to serve the function of recruiting sergeants for the respective "Fatherlands". The C.C.F. is headed down the same road.

II INTERNATIONALISM The working class is international. The C.C.F. is nationalistic. The interests of the workers of one country is identical with the interests of the workers of every other country. This makes necessary the uniting of the socialist vanguard of every country into one international organization. The C.C.F. speaks of ushering in a socialism "peculiarly adapted to Canada and Canadian conditions", and have no international affiliations whatsoever. Because Canada is not self-sufficient and does not exist in a vacuum, but is part of a world economic unit, important events in other countries have their immediate repercussions in Canada. The scope and activity of the C.C.F., limited as it is to the national field, is insufficient to fight world capitalism.

III CLASS COMPOSITION The C.C.F. is dominated by small business men, professional people and farmers. It has no trade union following to speak of. Why? Because it has religiously refused to enter into economic struggles. It does not take seriously the necessity of unionizing workers. It was only on the eve of an election, when the Bennett government was restricting civil liberties, (The Regina Incident) that the C.C.F. condescended to help the unemployed. And it is obvious to anyone that they were forced into this, in order to keep face with the workers. So long as the C.C.F. sticks to the narrow path of parliamentarism and refuses to act outside parliament, so long will its working class following be limited. The C.C.F., failing to see the field of economic struggle as a school for socialism, fails to act in the interests of the workers.

In view of its make-up then, and its attitude towards independent militant action by the working class, it is in keeping that it should expel its left wing. Individuals or groups who dare raise their voices in opposition to official policy, who dare suggest a more militant program, are immediately silenced by expulsion. If the C.C.F., in its present stage of development will not tolerate internal criticism, if today it cuts off the Left, what will happen if it grows stronger, if a parliamentary victory becomes a possibility?

IV ORGANIZATION The fundamental weakness in the machinery of the C.C.F. is its organizational make-up. Built on the usual style of social democratic organizations, which flows from the very nature of the program, the party is a loose, poorly disciplined, heterogeneous mass. Even the individuals of the national leadership have different conceptions of the program. This hap-hazard, decentralized organization can never move quickly and firmly in times of crisis. Because of the nature of capitalism, because the ruling class will do everything in its power to hang on to its privileged position, it is necessary for the socialist vanguard to be a closely-knit, well-dis-



ciplined party capable of adjusting itself to new situations overnight, a party based on complete and unqualified internal democracy, but with a centralized organization and leadership.

V THE QUESTION OF POWER

The most important weakness of the C.C.F., the one that shades the others into insignificance, is the question of political power. Granting the C.C.F. the possibility of a majority in the Federal house, a very doubtful possibility, the C.C.F. would still have no real political power. The Senate could balk it in its every attempt. Well, then, it would have to abolish the Senate, because it stands today, and, it is estimated, for at least the next fifteen years, with a Conservative majority. In order to abolish the Senate, it would have to amend the B.N.A. Act. Already this involves a struggle with Great Britain. The powers of the Federal House are limited. The provinces have complete control of certain fields. The C.C.F. would have to win a majority in every provincial house as well. The Judiciary is quite a problem. They interpret the laws of the country. Without exception they are hide-bound reactionaries whose interests are in direct opposition to socialism. They would have to be fired, and a new set of judges appointed. The police and the army see that the laws are carried out. You can rest assured the Canadian Big Business ruling class has seen to it that the representatives of "law and order" are loyal to their employers. Dismiss them, and form an army and police force of workers? Be careful now, that smacks of Bolshevism! The huge civil service bureaucracy is another problem. Yes, comrades, you too will agree, that a condition of civil war will inevitably follow any attempt at socialization; that between a parliamentary majority and real political power lies a great gap that only a revolutionary program can bridge.

The fact is, the C.C.F. is nothing new. Parties of a like character have existed for decades, and there is much we can learn from their history. The parties of social democracy (Reformism) have left an indelible stamp on the history of the labor movement. The Second International and its affiliated organizations grew up and thrived on this brand of philosophy in the latter part of the 19th century. In the heyday of capitalism, when there was still room for profitable expansion of capital, reformism undoubtedly played a progressive role. It organized in its parties millions of workers, tens of millions in its trade unions. It led the workers through heroic struggles and bettered their standard of living. Capital tolerated social democracy; it could afford to appear magnanimous and grant concessions to labor; because it wrung tremendous profits from its colonial empires. But the dawn of the 20th century ushered in the epoch of imperialism. The entire world was parcelled out to the giants of capital; there was no more room for 'peaceful' expansion. It could only take place at the expense of one or the other of the great nations.

Came the Great War. A war, not for democracy, but rather for a re-division of colonies, of 'spheres of influence'. To support this war of imperialism was in direct opposition to the



interests of the working class. To adopt a passive attitude to this war of imperialism was a betrayal of the working class. But the parties of social democracy, without exception, voted for war credits and support of the Fatherland. Instead of intensifying the struggle against capitalism, which a war situation demands because of the sharpening class struggle, because of the revolutionary sentiments which the misery and destruction creates in the minds of the masses, instead of this Social Democracy called a moratorium on the class struggle during the war period. Posterity shall brand this as the greatest historical betrayal of socialism! This event marked the death of the Second International and social reformism. It now became an obstacle to working class development.

And yet, whereas these parties had a militant pacifist approach to war, e.g., their slogan "War on War" and the threat of a general strike, which in no way prevented them rushing to the defence of "their" particular fatherlands; the C.C.F. has a purely pacifist approach to war which will ensure their falling victim to the first wave of jingoistic propaganda.

But these parties did not disappear. Because of their loyalty to capitalism, they were rewarded with ministries, influential positions and rich coffers. They remained unburied in order to betray the working class again and again.

Came the crisis. The collapse of the German Reichsbank, closely followed by the Wall street crash spread panic through the entire world. Capital had lost confidence in the stability of capitalism and credit was as scarce as straw hats in the Arctic. Six years of the most terrible poverty and demoralization have ensued; and the horizon is not one whit brighter today. The capitalist crisis brought with it the rapid development of a new phenomenon; a new threat to the working class--Fascism. Unable to stem the rising discontent of the working and impoverished middle classes through the ordinary channels of parliaments and democracy, finance capital is compelled to rule with an iron hand. In order to stabilize its position, it must drive down ever lower and lower the living standard of the working masses. This can only be done by a complete wiping out of the workers' economic and political organizations. So Monopoly Capital, making use of the impoverished, madonned middle class and the backward workers and slum elements, organizes the forces of reaction outside parliament. At the first opportune moment Fascism makes its bid for power - witness Italy, Germany, Austria and Spain, with France next on the historical order of the day.

But where does social democracy stand? True to its past, it stands for defeat. Let us examine the role of the S.P.D. (Social Democratic Party of Germany) because it is the classic example of reformism. It was the largest and most influential mass party of the Second International. At the time of the Hitler coup it mustered the support of 15 million German workers. Yet it fell helpless at the feet of the Nazi onslaught without so much as a single blow raised in defence of its institutions and rights.



Why was this so? Numerically it was stronger than any Socialist party could possibly hope to be. Yet it was foredoomed to failure, not in an honorable defensive fight, but in shameful capitulation. Why? Because its program, like the C.C.F.'s in Canada, did not have a correct position with regard to the bourgeois state, (democracy) and consequently, the method of achieving power. Because its struggle for socialism, like the C.C.F.'s was limited to the parliamentary field. And when the bourgeoisie, precisely because of this socialist threat, discards its Parliament, the poor, bewildered social democrats are helpless. Then to take to struggle? A noble thought, but it is too late. The party and the workers are not prepared for it - the Fascists are. Today the S.P.D. is a sorry remnant of what it once was. Its leaders in concentration camps, (those who have not yet met the executioners) its halls closed up, its press confiscated, its trade unions liquidated, it bears the same fate as the rest of the German working class organizations. Today it serves only one good function - a tragic example to the working class of all countries.

And what of England? Good old democratic Great Britain. The British Labor Party you must admit, is very close to the C.C.F. It has already tasted 'political power'. It has already had a parliamentary majority. And what did it do? It increased the standing army in India and successfully quelled in bloody slaughter the movement in that country for national liberation from English imperialism. In the interest of the good old British tradition that every British subject has the right to work, it protected the scabs in the great Transport workers strike in London. It betrayed, with the able aid of Stalinism, the general strike in 1926. Perhaps we could find a few more examples of its 'socialist' accomplishments. But then, why crucify the poor party?

The Socialist Parties of Italy and Spain met similar fates to that of the S.P.D. But Austria is the best example of all. Here was an unusual situation. Whereas the German party could hide behind the skirts of the splitting tactics of the Communist Party, in Austria there was no such opportunity. There was no Communist Party to speak of - all social democracy. The party had the support of two-thirds of the Vienna population; 40% of the entire country. It had a long record of socialist successes. Every socialist pointed with pride to Austria, in comparison with the barbaric Russian method. Karl Marx apartment houses; sport centers; cultural centers; powerful trade unions; a Schutzbund of 10,000 (workers' militia); everything in fact, but real political power. And what happened? At the first offensive of Fascism all this fell apart like a house of cards. The Schutzbund was dissolved, the ballot taken away, and all the party could do was protest mildly that capital had better not provoke the working class. True, the Austrian workers fought back. But of what avail? It was a hopeless gesture, defeated at the outset. Without leadership, without preparation, what chance did these heroic workers have?

The February struggle in Austria, although defeated in advance



by social democratic leadership, was a mighty example of the courage and fighting determination of the working class at bay. It stands today as a beacon light and guide to the workers of all countries. It paints in glaring letters the utter collapse of social democracy - from every point of view. Not only program - but its membership, its apparatus, everything. And the C.C.F. blinding itself to these irrefutable historical lessons, is preparing, with the same program of illusions, a similar fate for the Canadian workers.

Marx called the state the executive committee of the ruling class. Never was truer word penned. The state is the product of irreconcilable class differences. It is the organ of class domination, an organ for the oppression of one class by another. The bourgeois "democratic" state is the means whereby capitalism has, until now, been best able to carry on its life work, the extracting of profits from wage-labor. And all its institutions have been set up by the ruling class for the express purpose of maintaining this relation of classes. To attempt to socialize property with the apparatus of bourgeois state institutions is to live in a world of dreams.

A correct appreciation of the state and its role in society leaves the socialist with but one conclusion. It is necessary to annihilate and break up from every point of view this all-powerful instrument of oppression. This overthrow of bourgeois rule can be accomplished only by the working class. Because of its economic role in large-scale production, it is the only force capable of leading all the oppressed masses. But this, you say, would bring chaos and anarchy! Correct, but we do not stop there. The proletariat must seize power and then transform the means of production into state property. This leads inevitably to the necessity of the political rule of the proletariat, of its dictatorship. The overthrow of the bourgeoisie is possible only if the proletariat becomes the ruling class, able to crush the inevitable counter-revolutionary resistance of the expropriated and dispossessed capitalist class. It is absurd to expect the class which has stained the pages of history red with the blood of labor struggles and imperialist wars, all for the sake of greater profit, to give up, not merely profits, but its very right to property, because the electorate have seen fit to demand it. The parasite classes can be relied upon not to relinquish their sacred right to 'property' until they are confronted with a power greater than that which they have at their command. The working class will need a state, a centralized organization of force, yes, of violence, both for the purpose of retaining its newly won resources and for the purpose of guiding the masses to socialism. This state will only be a transitional institution. With the gradual absorption of all classes into production, and when the bourgeois slogans, 'Liberty, Equality and Fraternity' will have been realized, the state will disappear and man, in a classless society will finally be freed from political and economic oppression.



An analysis of the CCYM and the work of the SYL perspective <sup>etc.</sup>s

With particular regard to the CCYM convention (provincial) and the future work of the Spartacus Youth League; and an answer to the problem of whether we should liquidate the SYL into the CCYM.

by Les. Clark National Opponents Director SYL

*A leader of SYL - went to live in the states and to our friends etc. dropped out of contact*  
In considering our policy towards the CCYM, we must look at the question from all its angles and taking into consideration quite a number of factors the more important of which are the following.

1. Capitalist economy as a world system, and the present stage of development of Canadian capitalism, and a general consideration of the relationship of forces on an international as well as national scale.
2. The role that Stalinism, reformism and centrism are playing on a world scale with particular regard to Canada.
3. The CCYM itself-
  1. its influence both qualitatively and quantitatively.
  2. its influence on the CCF and vice versa.
  3. the effect of the recent turn of the YCI and CI are having on the CCYM
  4. the general relationship of forces in the CCYM- right wing, opportunists and careerists Stalinists and the left-wing ( right centrists and left centrists)
  5. The social composition of the CCYM
  6. The political level of the members.
  7. The activity of the CCYM.
  8. The attitude of the leftward-moving elements towards the SYL
  9. The work of the Krehm group in the CCYM
4. The condition of the WP and the SYL at the present time.
  1. The activity (or lack of it) that is being carried on )
  2. the influence (or lack of it) that we have.
  3. A consideration of the membership itself both of the WP and the SYL.
  4. The Vanguard- need for support etc.
  5. In relation to the SYL- its nature and relations with the Party.



1. Capitalist economy as a world system is on the decline, there is no necessity ~~for~~ to go into the details of this. Canadian capitalism however is comparatively recent and for several reasons has not exhausted itself to the extent that the older countries have. It is not torn with the internal contradictions, that are keeping the older capitalist countries in a continual state of economic crises and political overturns. As yet the vast majority of the population is keeping to the old two-party system. In Canada there is no pre-revolutionary situation, the vast majority of the youth as well as the adult workers are not organized into any kind of working class organizations, and are not taking a great deal of interest by and large in international developments.

Although the working class on the international field has in the last 12 years suffered defeat after defeat and the forces of reaction have been victorious, this has not had a direct effect on the majority of the Canadian masses.

2. Social democracy as a political movement grows up and flourishes in a developing capitalist system, which can hand out concessions to the workers and gives credence to the belief that this can continue, peacefully getting more and more "hand-outs" until they have ~~everything~~ finally achieved socialism by this gradual process. The World War that marked the beginning of the decline of capitalism, undermined and knocked the props from under this theory as had the rise of fascism in several countries. ~~Only~~ The role of the CI and the YCI has been not so much to take advantage of this but instead by their zig-zag policies have been the main prop of Social-Democracy throughout the world to-day, and we find that due to these policies Social-Democracy has been able to play their despicable role of pacifying the workers and leading them unarmed to the slaughter so to speak.

This too has had its effect although not so marked on the Canadian sphere there is no law that says the workers of each country must go through the developments of Social Democracy before they become Communists for even in the fight for the smallest concession they come ~~up~~ face to face with the forces of capitalism- police, militia etc and learn quickly that everything they get has to be fought for and even if Social Democracy in the form of the CCF does have momentary successes, it is evident that if the CCF keeps to the old ideas of parliamentarism and peaceful methods, they will as the class struggle sharpens either develop more to the left or

lose more and more their support in the masses who will realize much quicker than they have in the older countries that the program and policies of the CCF are not sufficient to gain even small concessions let alone take over control of the industries, and if a real revolutionary

party is in existence it cannot only help this, left wing development by constant explanation, and by driving home the fact ~~that~~ to this left wing that a split will inevitably take place between the right wing and the left, but it can and must help it by conducting a vigorous organizational campaign on its own hook, and by clearly exposing all that is weak and vacillating in the tactics of this left wing, of course this does not mean that this revolutionary party at the same time must not conduct a ~~continuous~~ unceasing agitation against the theories of social democracy itself.

Stalinism is playing a most despicable role at the present time not only on a world scale but here in Canada, it is ~~more~~ more dangerous than the CCYM to the ~~in~~ the development of the Canadian masses, at this time, when war is rapidly approaching, when the masses are just beginning to develop and when more particularly, there is signs of a left-wing developing in the CCYM (even more than the CCF) the ~~the~~ YCL ~~with~~ following its parent organization into the morass of social-patriotism



is trying to act as a brake on this development, is strangling to the best of its ability the leftward moving elements, in this it is not particularly successful, but their recent turn is and will have an effect especially in those place and among those groups which do not know of its previous "3rd. period" policies. An unceasing exposing of the policies of the Stalinists must be carried ~~on~~ on by our organization. We must seek to discredit them at every opportunity and show how ~~it~~ even now they are combining with the right elements against the left ~~in~~ everywhere.

Centrism is another development that we cannot afford to gloss over. Centrism, always vacillating between Marxism and reformism, unwilling to take decisive steps towards revolutionary policies, acting as a buffer and as apologists to reformism in many cases, has to be driven forward to a clear position on all the important questions facing the working class, particularly on the international question. Centrism as shown in the recent expulsion of Held from the Stockholm Youth Buro always criticises the ICL much more strongly than does it criticise the "left" socialist groups, it combines with them at every opportunity against ~~us~~ us. Only by constantly exposing the sterile policies of this centrist tendency wherever it exists can we drive it and the left-socialist groups farther along the road to the 4th Int. In the various Socialist Parties throughout the world to-day there is a great ferment taking place particularly in the youth, the left-wings in these organizations are hesitating and are vacillating ~~inxxxxxxx~~ and are unwilling to face the inevitable-a split with the right wing. This idea must be driven home to the centrists and other left-groupings within these organizations - that sooner or later as the class struggle sharpens, the left-wing if it is not to capitulate its principles must make a clean break with the right, and link itself up with the only revolutionary parties and youth organizations existing to-day- those that stand on the firm ground of the 4th International. *From a tactical viewpoint an intermediate stage is necessary*  
*in France.*

~~In Canada and in~~ the CCYM in Ontario particularly, this Centrist ~~we~~ tendency is most clearly shown in the person of Jim Daly (Dan Jessel is even more to the right than Daly and cannot be called much more than a left socialist.) It will be necessary to work steadily on these two persons as they are the leaders of the left-wing ~~and~~ explaining to them the fallacy of their position and trying to bring them to us. But more of this when we consider the actual line-up of forces in the CCYM.

### 3. The CCYM.

it has in Ontario about 500 members, organized into a very loose, undisciplined organization, it has very little influence outside its membership. Although the CCYM grew up, contrary to most Young Socialist organizations, in a period of economic crises, it did not grow up from a desire on the part of the unemployed youth or of youth organized intrade-unions, for political expression, in fact outside of the East York experience the CCYM has taken little or no action in the struggles of the youth or of the working class. It grew up, and still is dominated by petty-bourgeois, students and intellectuals (especially the leadership). Of course in respect to this, it is only fair to state that the majority of the youth are either unemployed or are going to school and have ideas not of factory work but of "white-collar" jobs. However it is important to consider this when we are planning not only our work in the CCYM but also in our own work. *either planted in the CCYM or evolved from it*

2. The influence of the CCF on the CCYM evidenced by the desire of the right wing and the opportunists, not to do anything that would

Note by R.D.



antagonize the CCF. The desire not to do anything that is contrary to the manifesto of the CCF etc. The effect of the CCF on the CCYM is a reactionary influence and that of strengthening the right wing. It is necessary that part of our activity in the CCYM must be the complete political and organizational autonomy of the CCYM. The effect of the CCYM on the CCF is practically negligible, this might be changed to some extent if a powerful left-wing grows up in the CCYM but at least in the past and in the immediate future the effect of the left-wing on the CCF will not be very great.

### 3. The Recent Right Swing of the YCL and the YCI and its effect on the CCYM.

The recent turn to the right of the YCL and the CP. has not had the desired effect of bringing the CCYM to position where they are willing to have organic unity with the YCL. In fact the recent turn far from the desired effect on the CCYM ~~has resulted in the YCL being the laughing stock of the convention and in East York where they are already liquidated into the CCYM they are regarded with considerable distrust. And due mostly to their policy of class-collaboration and partly to get into the good graces of the CCYM'sers the YCL are already combining with the right wing in the CCYM against the left.~~ has resulted in the YCL being the laughing stock of the convention and in East York where they are already liquidated into the CCYM they are regarded with considerable distrust. And due mostly to their policy of class-collaboration and partly to get into the good graces of the CCYM'sers the YCL are already combining with the right wing in the CCYM against the left.

There is no danger at least in the immediate future, of our isolation from the CCYM because of this recent turn of the YCL. the left-wing although still-confused regard with disgust the antics of the YCL they are on the best of terms with us-by that I mean that they are very friendly to us and are willing to discuss with us the problems that are confronting the working youth and the CCYM. They are not afraid to be seen in conversation with us and their attitude to the right wing ~~is that of "try and expel us for consorting with Trotskyists and we will show you that you cannot do it".~~ Those who fear that unless we liquidate the SYL into the CCYM we will be isolated from the CCYM due to the recent turn of the YCL are suffering under a illusion, they are not familiar with the actual situation, which I think is very favourable for us if "we play our cards correctly" and do our work with these leftward moving elements in a thorough and systematic manner.

### 4. The relationship of forces in the CCYM.

1. the right wing- Grant, Cheshire etc. definitely lining up with the reactionary leadership of the CCF. and opposing progressive moves on the part of the left-wing. They have by no means a majority in the CCYM convention. There is no definite bureaucracy as yet in the CCYM, but there is no doubt that with the linking up of the CCYM with the CCF that this right wing will be much stronger and more effective in opposing the left.

2. The opportunists-Cotterell and Lazarus due mostly to the abysmally low political level of the CCYM, their lack of experience etc this group-trying to keep the CCYM patterned after the CCF- a vote-catching machine, with such phrases as "let's do away with all this theoretical discussion and get down to organization" have considerable support in the CCYM but still did not have a majority at this convention.

3. The Stalinist forces are fairly weak as far as actual members working in the CCYM are concerned, but they have considerable influence among some parts of the CCYM especially those districts which are not familiar with the infamous "3rd. period" policies. They ~~line up~~ and bow in order to gain favour and line up with the right wing on every opportunity. ~~They are~~



they are accused even by a recognized right wing unit "Cruden Unit" on the question of the united front (see report of convention) of class-collaboration ~~xxxx~~ etc. It is quite clear that the YCL stands even more to the right than the CCYM, and it is from this viewpoint that we must constantly drive home ~~xxx~~ to the CCYM'ers the thoroughly reactionary nature of the YCL.

4. The left-wing. ~~This is xxxxxxxx~~ It is comparatively weak as far as organizing its work is concerned and as yet it is not grouped around any definite program. There are undoubtedly some very good elements in this left-wing, which is quite heterogeneous in character and is divided on some important questions. Jessuland Daly are the leaders of this wing but they too lack considerable experience. Daly is more to the left than Jessuland seems to be under the influence of the Krehm group. They are friendly to us and both of them should be ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ worked on in a systematic manner. The vast majority of the left-wing think that in the course of time they will be able to win a large majority of the CCYM to a revolutionary position-they hope to "capture" the organization. While this is not theoretically impossible in actual practice especially now that the CCF will have direct influence on the CCYM, the chances for success in this line are very, very, weak. Our work as a revolutionary youth organization that has a definite program and a definite purpose is to help this left-wing, along in its work both by working inside the ~~xxxxxx~~ organization and from the outside by constant explanation of the principles of revolutionary Marxism and by driving home the fact that there will be an inevitable split with the right wing.

But this is only one aspect of our work as a revolutionary youth organization. We must pursue at the same time the work of building up our own organization by taking an actual part in the struggles of the workers AS AN ORGANIZATION ~~AS AN ORGANIZATION~~ it is necessary for the SYL and the WP to immediately activate ~~the individual members~~ not only the individual members but the organization the WP must play a leading role in the struggles of the workers. Our forces are not large but we have taken the road, of the "party" there is no going back we must proceed with the forces we have and start immediate work ~~in the~~ towards building a mass base for our party. The SYL must also not "stake all their cards" on the faint hope of turning the CCYM into a revolutionary organization by burying our membership in the CCYM for an indefinite period in the hope of crystallizing the left-wing and probably winning a majority in the organization. Those comrades who are for this seem to forget that when working in the CCYM our comrades tactics are limited to a considerable degree by the framework of the CCYM. That for one year after joining we would be unable to hold ~~an~~ office or appear on platforms or run study classes (Remember Goldman and the SP of US). Fraction rights are impossible, the only possible way to join would be to join as individuals-without the right to publish a paper etc. The CCYM is more than likely to follow the CCF as pure parliamentary machine under the control of the CCF reactionaries. The ~~CCYM~~ left-wing in the CCYM can best be influenced in our favour by our fraction working in an organized fashion, coupled with discussions carried on with these left-wingers showing them the correct policies-the policies of the WP and the SYL. These left-wingers themselves are of the opinion too that it would help the left-wing in the CCYM considerably if the WP and the SYL would undertake and carry out some real organizational activity.

5. The social composition of the CCYM- a very small number of actual shop-workers, with an overwhelming majority of students and white-collar workers this is particularly true of the leadership.



6. The Political level of the membership is very low, considering that the delegates at the convention were the "cream of the CCYM" and noting their very apparent ignorance of even the most elementary principles of socialism one has some idea of the abysmally low level of the membership as a whole.

7. The activity of the CCYM.

With a membership of some 500 members the large majority of which are in Toronto it would be expected that there would be some report of industrial activity. But not one case of the CCYM working in trade-unions, taking a lead in organizing of shops was presented. The only real "class-struggle" activity reported was that of the "East-York Relief-Strike" where the CCYM had played a very good part. But not one instance where trade-union work picketing etc had been carried on was cited by the industrial organizer.

The main work was carried in time of the election- helping the CCF to elect a majority to the House of Commons. There were some signs that the CCYM would start to do some real work in the industrial field but with a EC composed by far of reactionaries and opportunists the chances of the CCYM playing a leading role in the organization of young-workers into trade-unions of carrying on picketing etc are not very great.

The activity of the CCYM revolves around house parties, dances etc. which work although very necessary in building a working class youth organization is not by any means the whole activity. It is an activity built around the idea not of participating with the workers in their struggles and making them realize through this that the only thing is the overthrow of capitalism; but rather around the idea of "vote-catching" of building a youth auxiliary to the ~~the~~ parliamentary machine of the CCF. One of the main tasks of our fraction will be to make the CCYM carry out the resolution that was carried ~~at~~ at the convention- the industrial resolutions (see report of convention). And to try to turn the attention of the CCYM towards the organization of the employed and unemployed youth. We of the SYL must also take the lead as an independent organization and start, although our forces are not large, into industrial activity, probably the easiest field to work on at the present time is the unemployed if work, we together with the WP must immediately start to work in this field.

8. The ~~xxxxxx~~ attitude of the leftward moving elements towards the SYL. This has been covered to some extent when considering the left-wing in the CCYM. They are for the most part friendly towards us, and want us to carry on some real activity so that not only will it help us gain favour in the rest of the left-wing but also they will be able to combat the arguments of the Stalinists and the Opportunists who claim that we are a mere sect interested only in theoretical discussion and are not seriously interested in mass work.

9. The work of the Krehm group in the CCYM.

From what I can see they have their work fairly well organized although they are only ~~xxxxxx~~ working in the South Rosedale Unit. Daly seems to be pretty well under their influence. They are advocating that the CCYM affiliate to the Stockholm Youth Buro. Although they can and will whether we like or not, take a part in the formation of a definite left-wing nevertheless on this question it will be necessary to fight them most strongly all our members especially those working in the CCYM must familiarize themselves with the facts and data on the Buro so as to be able to combat their arguments in favour of it.

We must not either underestimate nor overestimate their influence. But one thing in our mind is certain that if the WP and the SYL immediately activate themselves as a Party and as a Youth organization should be active



then our work of combatting these elements would be a thousand times easier. To liquidate our organization into the CCYM would in ~~my~~ our estimation throw these more-developed left-wingers such as Daly and Jessul right into the waiting arms of the Krehm group. We do not want that.

#### 4. The Workers Party and the SYL - the condition of the organization.

1. It is generally agreed by this NC that practically no work is being carried carried by either the SYL or the WP as ORGANIZATIONS, while it is true that some of our members are very active as individuals, nevertheless it is also true that as organizations we are carrying on little or no work in the unemployed, cultural, sports etc. fields, or on picket lines etc.

2. We are not a particularly well ~~known~~ known organization to the average worker, this true not only because of our situation in the labour movement but also as a result of neglecting work which should have been done and could have been done by us, which would bring the name and the policies of the Workers party and the SYL to the forefront. We have no exact means to gauge our influence suffice it to say that if the above conditions are corrected our influence as well as our numerical strength will grow quickly.

3. Now in relation to the question whether we should liquidate the SYL into the CCYM at the present time it is necessary to consider the actual members of the Party and the SYL in relation to the tasks which confront our organizations.

The Party having declared itself a party while still very small is nevertheless faced with the problem of extending the Party nationally and concretising these gains. It is faced with the problem of building auxiliary organizations ~~not only~~ not only to serve the needs of the workers but also to serve as a mass base for the WP. It is faced with the problem of carrying on extensive propaganda work.

Now in the leadership of the SYL (both City Com. and NC) are many youth members of the Party, whom at the same time as they doing youth work are ~~not~~ actually doing a lot of adult work for the Party. This latter work must be done but so has youth work to be done.

What would be the situation if the SYL were to liquidate into the CCYM outside of the City Com of the SYL and the NC of the SYL there are only one or two members who are capable of carrying on effective work in the CCYM and even some of the members of these two committees are not capable of playing a leading role in the work of crystallising the left wing in the CCYM. If the Party were to retain most of the members of the SYL whom are already members of the Party ~~for~~ in order that they can carry on the present adult work that they are doing then because of the inexperience of the rest of the members of the SYL our work in the CCYM would not progress very quickly.

Then if the Party liquidated the whole SYL (youth members of the WP included) into the CCYM what would be the result. ~~what~~ would happen to the work these members are carrying on at the present time, where would the field organizers come from for the near future Is it not clear that the Party in order to carry out the work that it is faced with needs the assistance not only of these members who are carrying on adult work at the present time but also of the Spartacus Youth League.

#### The Vanguard —

We do not need to stress the importance of this and the need for spreading it among the workers, here too the SYL plays an important role which must not be forgotten when considering ~~the~~ its liquidation.



## The SYL.

Our work in the CCYM, must be organized carefully and systematically with regular fraction meetings and some space in the press devoted to the purposes of discussing the various points of difference between reformism and revolutionary marxism. While this work is very important we must not forget that at the present time it is but one part of the activity of the SYL. The organization ~~inexistence~~ must immediately activise itself as an organization-try to publish a paper if at all possible -get into the unemployed work - carry on more intensive internal and external propaganda etc. ~~This must be done not only~~ This work will not only have a livening effect on the whole SYL, will not only result in our gaining members but it will also help immeasurably our work in the CCYM. To have a real active SYL will have more effect a thousand times more effect on the leftward moving elements in the CCYM than sending the SYL into the CCYM.



An analysis of the CCYM and the work of the SYL perspective <sup>etc.</sup>s

With particular regard to the CCYM convention (provincial) and the future work of the Spartacus Youth League; and an answer to the problem of whether we should liquidate the SYL into the CCYM.

by Les. Clark National Opponents Director SYL

*A leader of SYL - went to live in the states and to our friends etc. dropped out of contact*  
In considering our policy towards the CCYM, we must look at the question from all its angles and taking into consideration quite a number of factors the more important of which are the following.

1. Capitalist economy as a world system, and the present stage of development of Canadian capitalism, and a general consideration of the relationship of forces on an international as well as national scale.
2. The role that Stalinism, reformism and centrism are playing on a world scale with particular regard to Canada.
3. The CCYM itself-
  1. its influence both qualitatively and quantitatively.
  2. its influence on the CCF and vice versa.
  3. the effect of the recent turn of the YCI and CI are having on the CCYM
  4. the general relationship of forces in the CCYM- right wing, opportunists and careerists Stalinists and the left-wing ( right centrists and left centrists)
  5. The social composition of the CCYM
  6. The political level of the members.
  7. The activity of the CCYM.
  8. The attitude of the leftward-moving elements towards the SYL
  9. The work of the Krehm group in the CCYM
4. The condition of the WP and the SYL at the present time.
  1. The activity (or lack of it) that is being carried on )
  2. the influence (or lack of it) that we have.
  3. A consideration of the membership itself both of the WP and the SYL.
  4. The Vanguard- need for support etc.
  5. In relation to the SYL- its nature and relations with the Party.



1. Capitalist economy as a world system is on the decline, there is no necessity ~~for~~ to go into the details of this. Canadian capitalism however is comparatively recent and for several reasons has not exhausted itself to the extent that the older countries have. It is not torn with the internal contradictions, that are keeping the older capitalist countries in a continual state of economic crises and political overturns. As yet the vast majority of the population is keeping to the old two-party system. In Canada there is no pre-revolutionary situation, the vast majority of the youth as well as the adult workers are not organized into any kind of working class organizations, and are not taking a great deal of interest by and large in international developments.

Although the working class on the international field has in the last 12 years suffered defeat after defeat and the forces of reaction have been victorious, this has not had a direct effect on the majority of the Canadian masses.

2. Social democracy as a political movement grows up and flourishes in a developing capitalist system, which can hand out concessions to the workers and gives credence to the belief that this can continue, peacefully getting more and more "hand-outs" until they have ~~everything~~ finally achieved socialism by this gradual process. The World War that marked the beginning of the decline of capitalism, undermined and knocked the props from under this theory as had the rise of fascism in several countries. ~~Only~~ The role of the CI and the YCI has been not so much to take advantage of this but instead by their zig-zag policies have been the main prop of Social-Democracy throughout the world to-day, and we find that due to these policies Social-Democracy has been able to play their despicable role of pacifying the workers and leading them unarmed to the slaughter so to speak.

This too has had its effect although not so marked on the Canadian sphere there is no law that says the workers of each country must go through the developments of Social Democracy before they become Communists for even in the fight for the smallest concession they come ~~up~~ face to face with the forces of capitalism- police, militia etc and learn quickly that everything they get has to be fought for and even if Social Democracy in the form of the CCF does have momentary successes, it is evident that if the CCF keeps to the old ideas of parliamentarism and peaceful methods, they will as the class struggle sharpens either develop more to the left or

lose more and more their support in the masses who will realize much quicker than they have in the older countries that the program and policies of the CCF are not sufficient to gain even small concessions let alone take over control of the industries, and if a real revolutionary

party is in existence it cannot only help this, left wing development by constant explanation, and by driving home the fact ~~that~~ to this left wing that a split will inevitably take place between the right wing and the left, but it can and must help it by conducting a vigorous organizational campaign on its own hook, and by clearly exposing all that is weak and vacillating in the tactics of this left wing, of course this does not mean that this revolutionary party at the same time must not conduct a ~~continuous~~ unceasing agitation against the theories of social democracy itself.

Stalinism is playing a most despicable role at the present time not only on a world scale but here in Canada, it is ~~more~~ more dangerous than the CCYM to the ~~in~~ the development of the Canadian masses, at this time, when war is rapidly approaching, when the masses are just beginning to develop and when more particularly, there is signs of a left-wing developing in the CCYM (even more than the CCF) the ~~the~~ YCL ~~with~~ following its parent organization into the morass of social-patriotism



is trying to act as a brake on this development, is strangling to the best of its ability the leftward moving elements, in this it is not particularly successful, but their recent turn is and will have an effect especially in those place and among those groups which do not know of its previous "3rd. period" policies. An unceasing exposing of the policies of the Stalinists must be carried ~~on~~ on by our organization. We must seek to discredit them at every opportunity and show how ~~it~~ even now they are combining with the right elements against the left ~~in~~ everywhere.

Centrism is another development that we cannot afford to gloss over. Centrism, always vacillating between Marxism and reformism, unwilling to take decisive steps towards revolutionary policies, acting as a buffer and as apologists to reformism in many cases, has to be driven forward to a clear position on all the important questions facing the working class, particularly on the international question. Centrism as shown in the recent expulsion of Held from the Stockholm Youth Buro always criticises the ICL much more strongly than does it criticise the "left" socialist groups, it combines with them at every opportunity against ~~us~~ us. Only by constantly exposing the sterile policies of this centrist tendency wherever it exists can we drive it and the left-socialist groups farther along the road to the 4th Int. In the various Socialist Parties throughout the world to-day there is a great ferment taking place particularly in the youth, the left-wings in these organizations are hesitating and are vacillating ~~inxxxxxxx~~ and are unwilling to face the inevitable-a split with the right wing. This idea must be driven home to the centrists and other left-groupings within these organizations - that sooner or later as the class struggle sharpens, the left-wing if it is not to capitulate its principles must make a clean break with the right, and link itself up with the only revolutionary parties and youth organizations existing to-day- those that stand on the firm ground of the 4th International. *From a tactical viewpoint an intermediate stage may be necessary*

*in France.* *In* ~~In Canada and in~~ the CCYM in Ontario particularly, this Centrist ~~we~~ tendency is most clearly shown in the person of Jim Daly (Dan Jessel is even more to the right than Daly and cannot be called much more than a left socialist.) It will be necessary to work steadily on these two persons as they are the leaders of the left-wing ~~x~~ explaining to them the fallacy of their position and trying to bring them to us. But more of this when we consider the actual line-up of forces in the CCYM.

### 3. The CCYM.

*Note by R.D.* it has in Ontario about 500 members, organized into a very loose, undisciplined organization, it has very little influence outside its membership. Although the CCYM grew up, contrary to most Young Socialist organizations, in a period of economic crises, it did not grow up from a desire on the part of the unemployed youth or of youth organized intrade-unions, for political expression, in fact outside of the East York experience the CCYM has taken little or no action in the struggles of the youth or of the working class. It grew up, and still is dominated by petty-bourgeois, students and intellectuals (especially the leadership). Of course in respect to this, it is only fair to state that the majority of the youth are either unemployed or *in Canada* are going to school and have ideas not of factory work but of "white-collar" jobs. However it is important to consider this when we are planning not only our work in the CCYM but also in our own work.

2. The influence of the CCF on the CCYM evidenced by the desire of the right wing and the opportunists, not to do anything that would



antagonize the CCF. The desire not to do anything that is contrary to the manifesto of the CCF etc. The effect of the CCF on the CCYM is a reactionary influence and that of strengthening the right wing. It is necessary that part of our activity in the CCYM must be the complete political and organizational autonomy of the CCYM. The effect of the CCYM on the CCF is practically negligible, this might be changed to some extent if a powerful left-wing grows up in the CCYM but at least in the past and in the immediate future the effect of the left-wing on the CCF will not be very great.

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9. The work of the Krehm group in the CCYM.

From what I can see they have their work fairly well organized although they are only ~~xxxxxx~~ working in the South Rosedale Unit. Daly seems to be pretty well under their influence. They are advocating that the CCYM affiliate to the Stockholm Youth Buro. Although they can and will whether we like or not, take a part in the formation of a definite left-wing nevertheless on this question it will be necessary to fight them most strongly all our members especially those working in the CCYM must familiarize themselves with the facts and data on the Buro so as to be able to combat their arguments in favour of it.

We must not either underestimate nor overestimate their influence. But one thing in our mind is certain that if the WP and the SYL immediately activate themselves as a Party and as a Youth organization should be active



then our work of combatting these elements would be a thousand times easier. To liquidate our organization into the CCYM would in ~~my~~ our estimation throw these more-developed left-wingers such as Daly and Jessel right into the waiting arms of the Krehm group. We do not want that.

#### 4. The Workers Party and the SYL - the condition of the organization.

1. It is generally agreed by this NC that practically no work is being carried carried by either the SYL or the WP as ORGANIZATIONS, while it is true that some of our members are very active as individuals, nevertheless it is also true that as organizations we are carrying on little or no work in the unemployed, cultural, sports etc. fields, or on picket lines etc.

2. We are not a particularly well ~~known~~ known organization to the average worker, this true not only because of our situation in the labour movement but also as a result of neglecting work which should have been done and could have been done by us, which would bring the name and the policies of the Workers party and the SYL to the forefront. We have no exact means to gauge our influence suffice it to say that if the above conditions are corrected our influence as well as our numerical strength will grow quickly.

3. Now in relation to the question whether we should liquidate the SYL into the CCYM at the present time it is necessary to consider the actual members of the Party and the SYL in relation to the tasks which confront our organizations.

The Party having declared itself a party while still very small is nevertheless faced with the problem of extending the Party nationally and concretising these gains. It is faced with the problem of building auxiliary organizations ~~not only~~ not only to serve the needs of the workers but also to serve as a mass base for the WP. It is faced with the problem of carrying on extensive propaganda work.

Now in the leadership of the SYL (both City Com. and NC) are many youth members of the Party, whom at the same time as they doing youth work are ~~not~~ actually doing a lot of adult work for the Party. This latter work must be done but so has youth work to be done.

What would be the situation if the SYL were to liquidate into the CCYM outside of the City Com of the SYL and the NC of the SYL there are only one or two members who are capable of carrying on effective work in the CCYM and even some of the members of these two committees are not capable of playing a leading role in the work of crystallising the left wing in the CCYM. If the Party were to retain most of the members of the SYL whom are already members of the Party ~~for~~ in order that they can carry on the present adult work that they are doing then because of the inexperience of the rest of the members of the SYL our work in the CCYM would not progress very quickly.

Then if the Party liquidated the whole SYL (youth members of the WP included) into the CCYM what would be the result. ~~what~~ would happen to the work these members are carrying on at the present time, where would the field organizers come from for the near future Is it not clear that the Party in order to carry out the work that it is faced with needs the assistance not only of these members who are carrying on adult work at the present time but also of the Spartacus Youth League.

#### The Vanguard —

We do not need to stress the importance of this and the need for spreading it among the workers, here too the SYL plays an important role which must not be forgotten when considering ~~the~~ its liquidation.



## The SYL.

Our work in the CCYM, must be organized carefully and systematically with regular fraction meetings and some space in the press devoted to the purposes of discussing the various points of difference between reformism and revolutionary marxism. While this work is very important we must not forget that at the present time it is but one part of the activity of the SYL. The organization ~~inexistence~~ must immediately activise itself as an organization-try to publish a paper if at all possible -get into the unemployed work - carry on more intensive internal and external propaganda etc. ~~This must be done not only~~ This work will not only have a livening effect on the whole SYL, will not only result in our gaining members but it will also help immeasurably our work in the CCYM. To have a real active SYL will have more effect a thousand times more effect on the leftward moving elements in the CCYM than sending the SYL into the CCYM.



## Summary of the Resolution of the EC of the SYL Majority

(Les) Clark, (Sadie) Jourard, (Murray]) Dowson, (Sylvia) Johnstone, (Gordon) Brooks  
(*underlining and highlighting in R.D.'s hand in original –Ed.*)

On the analysis of the CCYM and whether the tactic of liquidation into the CCYM should be used.

At the present time neither the present condition of the CCYM warrants or justifies the liquidation of the SYL into the CCYM.

It is true that the SYL has not grown to any great extent during the past year, and that the activity of the SYL at the present time is little, but to use this fact as an argument for liquidation is false. In the first place, the same argument could be used in respect to the WPC (*SYL affiliate Workers Party of Canada*) – it too has not grown, its activity is also practically nil, but this is not enough argument for liquidation into the CCF. Furthermore the reason we have not grown cannot be solely reduced to our position in the labor movement, and while it is true that we will not recruit members by the thousands into the SYL and the WP until the class struggle sharpens, it is also, true that we can recruit by the tens and even the hundreds at the present time, if we really get down to work and not sit back and wait for the sharpening of the class struggle which will bring the workers to us, only if we can give them leadership in these struggles. One thing to remember also is this – that at this time the WP and the SYL operating in such a backward country will attract the “cream of the working youth” and if we have faith in the power of organization we can do this.

We are of the opinion also that to liquidate the SYL into the CCYM would be to deprive the WP of some very necessary forces which it will need in the very near future in its work of extending the Party nationally, of keeping up the *Vanguard*, of sending out field organizers, of propaganda work, etc.

Furthermore, to “orient” the SYL to the CCYM and to “prepare” the membership of the SYL for entry would serve only to keep the SYL in a continual state of political and organizational instability and uncertainty, and could only have the worst effect on our work.

While at the present time we are opposed to this tactic, nevertheless under certain conditions this tactic may and even must be used, but at the present time neither the economic and political situation in Canada, the situation in the CCYM, or the condition of the SYL justify or make necessary the liquidation of the SYL into the CCYM. (*Highlighted paragraph in original – Ed.*)

When considering this problem we must not forget either the effect it will have on the international situation at the present time. The YCL youth, the SYL of the US, etc.

In conclusion we point out that the “normal” orientation of the SYL is that of an independent youth organization linked up with a revolutionary party, and that the burden of proof lies with those who are for liquidation who must state concretely – whether a long stay within the CCYM is expected or whether a short stay (--) this is important when considering the question. They must show what concrete gains are to be made that cannot be made by an independent SYL etc.

The problem confronting the SYL is not liquidation into the CCYM at the present time but rather a serious consideration of our past work, a realization that we have not done all that we should have done toward activating the SYL as an organization and a resolve to immediately correct this failing and a resolve to get down to some real work.



Sadler

(Notes by R.D.-ed)

Sylvia

Gordon

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of the NO. of the SYL Majority (Clark, Jourard, Dowson, Johnstone, Brooks, Murray)

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The problem confronting the SYL is not liquidation into the CCYM at the present time but rather a serious consideration of our past work a realization that we have not done all that we should have done towards activating the SYL as an organization and a resolve to immediately correct this failing and a resolve to get down to some real work.



*The Vanguard*, Feb. 1, 1936

### **CCYM Left Wing Shows Healthy Trends – Active in Ontario Convention – by L. Clark**

The CCYM provincial convention, meeting in Toronto on January 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> deserves a close scrutiny by everyone interested in the development of the radical movement in Canada. Although there are definite signs of a healthy left-wing movement developing that was able to muster considerable support among the delegates for "radical" resolutions particularly on the war question, nevertheless it is also true that the convention showed clearly the narrow local "Canadian" character of the CCYCM and the rank opportunistic "vote-catching" policies of the leadership.

#### **Democratic Methods?**

The first resolution of any importance was one which attempted to limit the methods by which the CCYM would gain socialism, to "democratic methods." The right-wingers and the opportunists in the leadership strongly supported this. They said that it would be much easier to recruit by this method and we would gain many of the backward youth that we otherwise could not reach. The leftward-moving elements in opposing this resolution contented themselves with pointing out that force "might" be necessary and we should not tie the CCYM down to democratic methods but rather we should leave the question open and meet the situation as it arises. They took a negative approach to the question instead of attempting to show that whether we like it or not, violence will be necessary to overthrow the capitalist system. They made no attempt to prove in the light of historical fact that "no ruling class has ever given up its position without a violent struggle" and made no attempt to draw lessons from Austria which is the best example of the hopeless inadequacy of the "democratic methods." The vast majority of the Austrian workers were organized into the Social-Democratic Party and had a clear majority in the "Diet" (comparable to the House of Commons), yet today not only have the Austrian workers not achieved socialism but they are languishing under the bloody heel of a Fascist dictatorship.

#### **Failure to learn from Experience**

The delegates from East York pointed out to the convention that the unemployed had been forced to use violence, not because they were particularly bloodthirsty, but because the forces of the State, the police, etc., had been used against them and in order to defend themselves they had to use violent methods. The resolution was defeated and the constitution stands as before "overthrow of capitalism." There was no attempt on the part of the left-wing to point out the necessity for a socialist organization to instill into the minds of workers the inevitability of a violent clash between the forces of a decaying reactionary capitalism and the forces of the working class and their allies. To gloss over such an important issue and to refrain from pointing out the correct road to socialism in their discussion from the floor of the convention constitutes in our estimation a grave error on the part of the left-wing which should have taken positive position towards this question instead of "leaving the question open for events to decide."



## **Marx and Engels!**

A resolution on the policy of the CCYM submitted by the Bickford unit which amended the original constitution to the extent that the members of the CCYM should be educated along the principles of international socialism as laid down by Marx and Engels was the subject for a heated discussion by the delegates. Lazarus in his own inimitable manner opposed this on the grounds "that the CCYM has to deal with Canadian problem(s) and that "Marx and written nothing on Canada" that we should not tie the CCYM down to teachings of Marx and Engels because other writers had contributed, besides these, and so on went the parade. The left-wing headed by Jessel and Daly made an excellent defence of the resolution pointing out that, it was necessary to have a solid base from which to start in the teaching of socialist theory and that this base was the teachings of scientific socialism as laid down by Marx and Engels.

However, after considerable discussion the resolution was defeated and the CCYM, thanks to the right wing and to the opportunists' are "safe" from being "tied down" to a definite policy on any of 'the important questions confronting the working youth of Canada, leaving the road wide-open for any opportunistic manoeuvre the leadership take a notion to put into effect.

## **Important Report**

The industrial report was brought in and some very good resolutions including one for industrial unionism organization of the unorganized were accepted. A report of how the East York CCYM played an important role in the relief strike and of how they had assisted the "On to Ottawa Trek," etc., was also very good, but, comrades of the CCYM, they are not industrial activity. Not one instance of the CCYM, an organization of 400 members, playing the role in any of the strikes during the last year, not one instance of the CCYM taking the initiative in organizing a union was cited. The reason for this is not hard to find. The leadership of the CCYM linked up with the CCF are trying and, unless they are opposed by the membership, they will succeed in making the CCYM a youth counterpart of the CCF — a vote-catching parliamentary machine. The fact that the organizer reported a decided drop in the membership immediately after the Federal elections hears out this statement.

## **Sanctions a Major Issue**

The discussion on whether or not the CCYM should support the League of Nations sanctions against Italy showed some very distinct divisions. The left-wing led by Dan Jessel and Jim Daly sharply opposed the League of Nations' sanctions. The Stalinist influenced delegates led by Pat Stevens supported the reactionary stand of supporting the League of Nation sanctions. These two groups composed the majority of the conference. A small group led by Cotterill took the position that the CCYM did not need to take a position on sanctions at all. The position of Cotterell was finally after much discussion adopted that is the CCYM did not take a position either for or against sanctions. Instead the convention condemned the League of Nations as an organization which could bring peace and favored independent working class action against war. It was an opportunistic manoeuvre that was successful due mostly to the inexperience of the delegates and the peculiar relationship of forces that existed in the convention. The Stalinist influenced forces claimed that it was the "Masses" that were forcing the



League of Nations to apply sanctions, that the 2nd and 3rd Internationals as well as the various trade-union congresses and the "Peoples' Front" in France had also supported the sanctions and that therefore, the CCYM should not isolate itself from the masses by taking a contrary position. They even put up the argument that as the working class use parliament to gain their ends we should likewise use the League of Nations in this case to prevent war. The left-wing made a very good reply to these arguments, pointing out that even if sanctions were applied it would mean war; that military sanctions were inevitable in order to enforce economic sanctions and to support sanctions means to aid the imperialist governments in the preparation of the masses for war. They pointed out to those who claimed independent working class action to be impossible that they had lost faith in the power of the working class and their allies to act separately from the capitalist class, and that they were merely "tail-ending" the war preparations of the bourgeoisie. Had the opportunists not held the "balance of power" and done everything to becloud the issue, it is possible that the CCYM would have taken a position against sanctions. The ILP, in England, the Guild of Youth of England, The Young People's Socialist League of U.S. as well as many trade-unions throughout the world have firmly declared their opposition to sanctions and support of the League of Nations. The CCYM, if it is to take a position which is in the interest of the working class youth as it claims to represent will take the unequivocal position of condemning the League of Nations and sanctions for what they are.

### **The United Front**

This problem was undoubtedly confused by the question of organizational unity with the YCL. The vast majority of the delegates did not understand the difference. The result of the discussion was that the provincial EC was given the power to decide whether any or all sections of the provincial organization was to take part in a united front action. It is necessary for the CCYM to take part in the united fronts, that is, the CCYM and the other organizations maintain their independence but on any particular issue they carry out joint action against the capitalists and the forces of reaction. The CCYM must recognize that all possible unity of the working class organizations must take place when fighting on immediate issues even with the YCL (although their past record does not inspire one with much faith in their recent turn). The question of organizational unity, however, is somewhat different and should in no way be confused with the tactic of the "united-front". After some heated discussion a resolution stating "that under no conditions" was the provincial EC to consider any proposal for organic unity with the Young Communist League" was passed by substantial majority.

### **Organizational Unity and the YCL**

A letter from the YCL (*Stalinist youth –Ed.*) was read to the convention. It called for a united youth organization — a non-political youth organization including the CCYM. This letter was received with cat-calls and jeers. The letter was immediately filed. The delegates in their discussion on the united front, constantly referred to the "Class-collaborative, reactionary" policies of the YCL. In the face of this the "Worker" comes out with the headline that the CCYM convention leaves the road open for unity. The YCL today is even more to the right than the CCYM and if they come into the CCYM it will unquestionably mean a strengthening of the right elements. One only has to take a look at the



attacks in the "Young Worker" on those leftward moving elements to realize that the YCL is but the youth counterpart of the CP (*adult Stalinist party—Ed.*), which is trying its best to act as recruiting agents for the army of any country that is in favor of the application of League Sanctions.

### **The War Resolution**

The war resolution presented by the Bickford unit was undoubtedly a "left" resolution: It provided that (1) The CCYM is unalterably opposed to all capitalist war (2); in case Canada should go to war the CCYM will continue waging a struggle of opposition to such action by agitating within the militia, regular reserves, and all military units to refrain from leaving these shores and instead fight for the overthrow of the existing regime; (3) in time of war the CCYM favors the general strike as the only weapon that can stop the capitalist class from using the workers as cannon fodder; (4) should a revolutionary situation develop through Canadian participation in a war the CCYM will be prepared to utilize the opportunity to gain power; (5) the CCYM must conduct an intensive anti-war agitation now, both within and without, the organization and to the latter end it must co-operate with and seek to attract other youth organizations into a broad anti-war youth organization.

### **Clash of Left and Right Wing**

This resolution precipitated a lot of discussion. The right wing and the opportunists attacked it 'on the ground that it would be hard to recruit if this were accepted, that there was no need to put down on paper what the CCYM would do if war broke out and that the CCYM could be prosecuted under Section 98 of the Criminal Code. The left wingers and Jessel in particular made a fine reply. "Since when did a socialist organization frame its policy according to the criminal code of the capitalist class?" he asked. "The opponents of this resolution should spend their time attacking Section 98, rather than this resolution." And it was finally carried by a substantial majority with a few abstentions. Immediately after 'the resolution was passed an astounding thing happened: Spencer Cheshire rose to his feet and in a voice quivering with emotion demanded that his name be recorded as opposing the resolution. This started an avalanche of people demanding that their names be similarly recorded — one of the most disgraceful yet comical happenings that I have ever observed. The discussion on war was the last point of importance that the convention discussed: the other resolutions were to be decided by referendum of the membership. The International question and the attitude of the CYM towards the Soviet Union were not even formally on the agenda. Only one resolution on the International question favoring affiliation of the Young Socialist International was presented.

### **Narrow Outlook Prevails**

The convention was shot through and through with a narrow outlook. The tendency was "throw aside discussion — let's get down to recruiting members." The Stalinist forces are comparatively weak in the CCYM. The left-wing although by no means crystallized has many promising elements that undoubtedly will be a force in the building up of a mass youth organization standing firmly in the principles of revolutionary Marxism and Leninism —the program of the Party of the Fourth



International. We of the Spartacus point out to those comrades that only by grouping themselves around a definite revolutionary program can they succeed in the building up a conscious left-wing in the CCYM and successfully combat the reactionaries who are attempting to make the CCYM a mere vote-catching machine. They must also combat the Stalinist influence which will try to make the CYM into a non-party, non-political, non-anything that smacks of activity for socialism. Only a revolutionary program can be a solid attractive center for the leftward moving young workers in the CCYM.

## **CP Expulsions. In Saskatoon**

### **Prominent Members Ousted For Sanctions Stand**

The lid has blown off the Communist Party in Saskatoon. Months of ferment have culminated in the expulsion of three well known members, George King, Cyril Harding and Fred Blewden. So serious was the situation that a Vancouver bureaucrat, H.J. Christie, was rushed to Saskatoon to superintend the house-cleaning.

King, one of the most widely known Communists in that section of the country, was apparently expelled on straight charges of Trotskyism. He dissociates himself from the other two, in whose cases charges of racketeering were involved.

Shortly after his expulsion, King delivered a speech on the Ethiopian war situation in which he launched a direct attack upon the Stalinist view of the question. He denounced the League as a "colossal bluff" to deceive the workers, declared war an inescapable part of the capitalist system, and called for the application of independent working class sanctions. "The only way to abolish wars is to abolish capitalism' with all its inherent contradictions," he declared. "This is the historic role of the working class". But precisely how is the working class to abolish capitalism? As a Communist King must surely agree that it can only be done under the leadership of a revolutionary party; and if he is to remain an active fighter for the workers he must decide what party that is.

### **Deep Rift in C.P.**

Blewden denies the charges of racketeering involved in his expulsion. He claims that he was never brought before any properly constituted body to answer to such charges and that he was notified of his expulsion through the bourgeois press. This is in line with the usual practice of the Stalinists.

Harding was a leading Stalinist theoretician, known to the workers as the author of the feeble squib on "Trotskyism" recently issued anonymously. He ran in the last municipal election, as a Communist candidate. So much for Stalinist gratitude.

The prominence of the three expelled men shows how deep is the rift in the CP ranks. This is but the forerunner of greater upheavals as the workers come to realize the full extent of the betrayal involved in the latest turns of Stalinist policy.



*“I believe we should enter on a long-term perspective; that is, with the idea in mind of gaining control of the organization. Witness British Columbia as proof of the probability of such a course. If we stress the idea of a split, and keep that in mind constantly our very approach will hasten such an event. The adoption of a “short term” orientation will cause our early expulsion or a premature split.*

*Of course, no ready-made formulas can be laid down. We must reckon with the forces. But, generally speaking, I (would) recommend a long-term perspective.”*

## I FROM PROPAGANDA TO MASS WORK

The major problem that confronts the SYL today is the problem of reaching the youth. Our political program is correct. It is strong and powerful. It wins recruits too. When it is advanced and heard. More than a year has elapsed since our international organization passed the resolution, taking the turn from propaganda to mass work, which meant literally, a turn from our own little circle of propaganda to the mass organizations. When our youth and adult sections throughout Europe entered into centrist organizations, it did not thereby express a weakness in our ideas, a lack of confidence in the ability of our ideas to win followers. On the contrary, it signified that our ideas were strong. That despite the dangers of opportunist degeneration that surrounded such a bold step, we were confident that our ideas would not only hold us together, but would at last break down the barriers that kept us from the masses, and an avenue for their transmission would finally be gained.

And that is precisely the problem that faces us here in Canada. We, all of us, believe in our program – in its ability to win recruits. But we have not gained, and we do not gain recruits. Why? Because we are separated from the youth and have no immediate avenue to them. Of what value are our ideas if they are not transmitted? What good does our program serve, if it is not heard? The present task, then is the creation of such an avenue, an arena where the youth will come and hear us and see us in action. Habits, once formed, are hard to break. For our own little “sewing circle” of Spartacus members has become a habit. If we are sincere young communists, we will realize that for the sake of reaching the youth we must give up the questionable pleasure of chatting together and warming our feet at headquarters or in restaurants.

## II THE SPARTACUS YOUTH LEAGUE OF CANADA

Undoubtedly a pretentious name. For Spartacus means “soul and fire and revolution” and all that. But what does it signify in Canada. Not very much, if anything. What are we actually? In Vancouver, where undoubtedly the immediate possibilities for growth are greatest, we are supposed to have 18 members. At the time of writing we can only recognize 7, for only that number have registered at the National Office. While the YCL is not much of a force in British Columbia, the newly formed YSL of the CCYM is the centre of attention at the present. The overwhelming majority of organized youth in BC are members of this movement. It is far to the left of the CCYM in Ontario. The fact that 20 of the 80 delegates at the fusion convention held recently, voted for a 4<sup>th</sup> International resolution has made little or no impression on us. Likewise the fact that at present it is a youth party, having no political affiliation whatsoever, has failed to impress us; and that 3 of the 7 on the Provincial Executive were elected after supporting and voting for our resolution.

This is overwhelming proof of the fact that if our ideas will gain support if they are but advanced and heard. That our comrades will win the confidence and support of the CCYM youth if their work in that



organization is carried on effectively and properly. Whether the formation of the Spartacus branch in Vancouver has helped or checked the work of the fraction there, cannot be ascertained or gauged at the present time.

*(pp 2-5 follow as pictorial files) (document ends at page 5 in archives)*



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present time. Certainly it can be said that thorough and effective work was done before the formation of the branch. That can be proved. For the groundwork leading up to the convention was carried on in the months preceding the formation of the branch, which was organized about the same time as the convention was held. This work was carried out without organization and without directives. Yet we were able to gain the support of 25% of the delegates. How much more effective and how much greater would our gains have been, had there been in existence an organized, homogeneous left wing fraction?

Our other branch is Toronto. Nowhere else have ~~max~~ we been able to strike roots. Here we have about 35 members on the books. Our active membership is about 20 - 10 in the West End and 10 in the Center. As a matter of fact, rarely have 20 attended a general membership meeting. We have been in existence about three years. It is no easier to recruit today than it was three years ago. The growth of our international movement, our party and the Vanguard, is more than offset by the organization of the C.C.Y.M., which was not in existence at that time. Two years ago we had about 20 members; likewise a year ago; and today we are no farther ahead. Why? Some comrades attest this non-growth to the apathy in our movement; to the mistakes we have made; to the wrong youth approach, etc. Undoubtedly a good many more reasons could be found, and most of them would explain in part, our non-growth. But even those who most fiercely support independence at the present time, say that at the very most, with a near to perfection organizational approach as possible, we could have perhaps doubled our membership, i.e., -> 40.

But I submit that we have done our best. We have tried hard to grow. Some say there is too much organizational machinery. But for two years we had only one leading committee, and we found that everything outside of Toronto was neglected. So we elected two committees. This has enabled us to intervene actively on the international arena and outside of Toronto, but, the Toronto work is neglected. So which way will you have it? We have organized socials and worked hard to make them a success. We have organized mass meetings, have advertised them well, but we have failed to attract the youth. We run study classes regularly. Occasionally a contact comes. What else can we do? Work on the Picket line? What picket line? The present lull in the labor movement hasn't seen a strike of any size for many months.

III A DOZEN CADRES The fact is, we have the generals without the army. We have cadres -- at least a dozen good ones. Individuals who can speak on a platform, lecture at a study class, write for a paper. Individuals who can organize, too. But the abilities of our members are wasted. For we are isolated -- opera singers at an empty theatre.

No serious work can be carried on until our isolation is broken through. That is our first and immediate task. The tactic of entry into the C.C.Y.M. is the only road, for it offers us the most suitable opportunity to break down our isolation. Those who suggest that this will spell our death, for we will be swamped and buried, lack courage and conviction. The situation in Canada requires a bold and determined step on the part of the youth. Our ideas and our cadres, the latter still young, but developing rapidly, will not permit themselves to be



"buried". We will be heard and we will be alive in the C.C.Y.M. The forces are lying there, only to be tapped. But these must be examined closely.

IV C. C. Y. M. The 1935 figures of the C.C.Y.M. claim a national membership of 5,000; £ 1,500 in Ontario. This is no doubt exaggerated, particularly in Ontario, where Clark's figure of 500 would probably be closer the truth. The Ontario section of the CCYM is recognized as being farther to the right than any other section. So you look here at the C.C.Y.M. at its worst. From the convention report, we have learnt that the Bickford resolution on war was carried. The centrism expounded in the resolution, e.g., "use a war crisis to seize power" (without the necessary preparation); "General Strike to stop war", etc., is due to the confusion and lack of contact with revolutionists. While the program finally adopted on Sanctions was neither here nor there, the Daly-Jessel position received a great deal of support, as the report shows. Only an idiot would place the C.C.Y.M. in the same light as the C.C.F. The latter is the classic example of ancient reformism. The youth organization is centrist rapidly moving to the left.

The social composition of the membership it is true, is largely white-collar and student. But it is the reflection of the social composition of the entire Canadian youth. Most of these have either never had jobs, or are white collar workers or students. Only a small minority are factory proletariat. So it is only natural that the youth organizations in this country will be dominated by unemployed and students. The social composition of the S.Y.L. is exactly the same. In fact, an analysis of our membership in Toronto shows a large majority of ~~white-collar~~ office workers.

The political level of the CCYM is low. That is quite true. But how will it be raised? Your answer ought to be by coming to our organization and to our classes. But they do not come. The present CCYM leadership will never educate them. Who will? "We", say those for entry and those opposed, in unison. It is unanimous. But how? Firstly, it occurs that perhaps some of us feel that it is not worth the effort to educate them. After all, they have such a low political level, and they're only a bunch of students and office workers.

But we submit that these elements represent the cream of the Canadian Youth. These elements in the great majority are sincerely interested in socialism -- and are willing to fight for it, too. What they need is clarity and leadership. And we say that the quickest and most effective way of winning them is to go in beside them, and work with them, and gain their confidence, never once hiding the identity of our ideas or allowing ourselves to be buried. On the contrary, we must fight bitterly such tendencies as the Cotterel grouping, which tries to put in the background theory and principles, and plays up the necessity for action and organizing as the first and immediate consideration. The spineless, reformist tendency represented by Cheshire can easily be discredited. While it may find a fertile ground in the C.C.F., the youth have no stomach for belly-crawling before law and order. Daly and Jessel, who represent the left wing will be forced to go along with our program, or follow us in the rear. With the only positive program on war, international affiliation, the struggle for power, we shall rally the militants behind us.



V THE WORKERS PARTY OF CANADA

The first and immediate question is our party. Its independence must be maintained. Entry of the youth as the first stage of entry of the Party is false and has nothing in common with Marxism. The Party will have to solve its problems on the basis of its particular conditions. The C.C.F. at the present time is not a suitable avenue to the masses. It is still far to the right of even the Labor Party of England, and does not have the good points of the latter, the solid support of the trade unions and the co-operatives. Our party is small but it is not isolated. The Vanguard has broken ground for us. The various groups are spread throughout the country, and in every large city there is at least the beginning of a group. As a tactic it is not excluded that at some future date, even the Party will have to take the road of entry. But that will depend on the growth of our movement, on the development of the C.C.F., the development of our international movement, etc. At the present time it is imperative that our Party remain independent to act as the crystallizing center for the splits that are taking place throughout Canada in the Stalinist ranks. Unlike the youth, there is the immediate possibility of our Party attracting substantial forces, particularly in the Ukrainian field.

The forces of the Party is another consideration. It is claimed that entry into the CCYM will considerably weaken the Party, because leading youth members are doing very important work for the Party. But actually the opposite is the case. Entry will infinitely strengthen the Party. Firstly, the left wing will be crystallized into W.P. sympathizers. New avenues for the Vanguard will be found. Entry does not mean that every member holding a Spartacus membership card at the present time will go into the CCYM. We shall pick and choose carefully. Some of us will have to enter the Party, and do full time work for it. The rest will enter the CCYM, and it is quite possible for them to do internal party work. We shall gain and develop the future Cadres for the Party in the CCYM. The present leaders of the SYL with the added experience of work with the masses, will become leaders in their own right.

VI YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE

It is true that at the present time the Y.C.L. is not taken seriously by the CCYM. But that is only temporary and to be expected. Actually programmatic differences are at a minimum. While today they are laughed at, tomorrow they will be taken seriously. Significant is the fact that at a recent session of the Trades and Labor Congress work with the WUL and the CP was barely thrown out. The move for organic unity will further isolate us. We must counterpose to the slogan of unity of the youth on a non-political basis, the slogan of unity of the youth on a revolutionary program. Our present weak forces will not be heard. We can most effectively carry out this struggle "from the inside". We do not hold that the CCYM can be "reformed". A split is inevitable and will take place; in all probability we shall be expelled. But when that time comes, we hope to come out with the basis for an independent youth organization.

The burden of proof is on our side, says Clark. That is true. And the burden of proof is herein submitted. But unfortunately we can offer Clark no guarantees. The revolution holds no "guarantees". We do know of one, though. It is certain that the Canadian workers will be defeated unless the youth are won to our ideas. Shutting up our ideas tight inside 320 Spadina Avenue will not win them. We must go after them. The



correctness of our ideas is no guarantee that they will be accepted and followed. Only if we intervene actively in their struggles, will we win the young socialists of this country.

VII PERSPECTIVES The question is posed: "Do we enter on a short term or long term perspective?" "Under what conditions do we enter?" The latter first.

Criticism is offered that the conditions in Canada are entirely different than those in France when our section entered the SFIO and the J.S. there. That in Canada, there is no crisis in the democratic state, there is no imminent threat of Fascism, no crisis in the reformist movement, in short there is no pre-revolutionary crisis. Admitted. But what does that prove? Exactly nothing. We deny that the only conditions for entry are those that existed in France. Such is the reasoning of "Book-Marxists", who fail to understand that the conditions in France were not made to order for us, but were thrust upon us. That ~~at~~ such a precarious situation we found ourselves without the forces for an independent party, in isolation, and it was necessary to win the workers to our program and to our slogans of action immediately. But entry would have been out of the question, had we found ourselves sufficiently strong to influence the course of events in France through the medium of a "normal" independent party. France has taught us something more than what the book-Marxists would have us learn. It has taught us that we must NOT wait for a pre-revolutionary crisis, in order to take the turn from a propaganda group to mass work. The cadres that have been developed in the long years of struggle with Stalinism must be utilized for mass work, NOW, AT ONCE. If the crisis in the class struggle comes later in Canada than in France, it only means that we have a longer period than our French brothers in which to work. That period must be utilized to the fullest possible measure.

"The left wing in the CCYM is weak and amorphous" say the independents. "In France there was something to work with". It is true that the left wing is weak. But we must strengthen it and give it life and energy and spunk. Particularly the latter. Had the left wing in the Ontario Convention made a determined fight to get equal representation on the Provincial Executive, I am convinced that they could have won it. But they were content to let the Old-Guard continue. They feel that types like Lazarus and Cotterel are better speakers and better organizers. And on this consideration they are content to let them lead. Our job is to clarify issues. To show that leadership is given firstly on consideration of POLITICAL agreement with the rank and file; secondly on organizational ability.

We shall negotiate with the leadership and keep the membership of the CCYM informed. We shall ask for full democratic rights. The right to express ourselves freely inside the organization. The right to group as a tendency and to issue an internal organ. In turn we shall offer to build the CCYM and work to increase its membership and influence. "They'll never allow us to enter as a group or publish a paper", replies Clark. Then we'll enter and depending on our gains, we shall take more and more democratic liberties. Their ability to keep us from issuing a paper will depend solely on our ability to win sections of the membership to our program.



I believe we should enter on a long term perspective;  
that is, with the idea in mind of gaining control of  
the organization. Witness, Bartlett, Columbia, as  
proof of the probability of such a course. If we  
stress the idea of a split, and keep that in mind  
constantly, <sup>our very approach</sup> will hasten such an event. The  
adoption of a "short term" orientation will  
cause our early expunction or a premature split.  
Of course, no ready-made formulas can be  
laid down. We must reckon with the future. But,  
generally speaking, I recommend a long term  
perspective.



The S. Y. L. and the C. C. Y. M.

1) The S.Y.L., after three years of existence, does not yet possess the cadres around which, unless the objective situation changes sharply in our favor, a substantial revolutionary youth organization can be built. The SYL exists only in Toronto and Vancouver, with nothing in the way of reliable youth contacts for the extension of the organization in other parts of the country. This situation is due to the ravages of past factional struggles in the SYL, ~~the extremely unfavorable objective situation,~~ a lack of real youth "demands" as distinct from those of the adults, and, recently, an inability to find a correct orientation towards other youth organizations.

The SYL has not engaged in what can be termed specifically, youth work. It has and does hold classes, occasional public meetings either on street corners or in halls, youth speakers are present at party public meetings, etc. (This work does not demand, particularly, the existence of a separate youth organization.) The most fruitful field for winning the youth to our movement is in existing organizations and in particular the CCYM. The CCYM has many elements who can and must be drawn to us, in order that a real organization of revolutionary youth may be built.

2) The CCYM is a national organization. In Toronto, where the bulk of our work will, in the immediate future, be done, its membership is roughly 250 to 300. Its leadership, Lazarus, Cotterel, Cheshire, etc., is reformist.

At the last provincial conference a fairly substantial, if confused, left wing manifested itself. The reformist leadership, immediately after the conference, took steps to destroy this left wing. First the resolution on war was rejected by them. Second they began to behead the left wing by the expulsion of its most prominent individuals, Jaessel, Daly, etc. Further expulsions will probably take place. The leftward elements have been thrown into confusion by this attack, due to the lack of clear and consistent advice and leadership.

Given leadership on a clear policy it is not unlikely that the left wing may become the majority of the CCYM. It is not by any means excluded that the CCYM may eventually become, in its majority, a revolutionary organization. It is with this possibility in mind and with aim in view that our work in the CCYM must be guided.

Not only must we bear in mind the building of our own tendency but, and this is inseparable from it, we must do all possible to prevent the growth and crystallization of reformist and centrist currents on the youth field. This not only goes for the reformists in the CCYM now, but also for the stalinists. Fusion of the CCYM with the YCL (or liquidation of the YCL into the CCYM) may not be an immediate danger to the left wing of the CCYM, but it is a potential danger against which we must guard with all our force.

3) Concentration of SYL work upon the CCYM will lay the most favorable basis for our movement, on the youth field. It will provide us with possibilities for contact with the leftward moving elements throughout the country and lay the groundwork for the extension of our movement upon a national scale. A left wing exists in the West which has no contact with the left wing in other parts of the country - this contact must be made.

4) With the idea in mind that the next stage in the development of our youth movement will be eventual fusion of our present group with large sections of the CCYM that will be won to our cause, or even, the winning of the CCYM as an organization to our movement, we can only come to the conclusion that the work of our youth lies solely within the CCYM, at least in the immediate future. This means that the SYL must be transformed into a fraction in the CCYM. The maintenance of an independent organization will pull our work in two opposite directions and will provide a basis upon which conflicting tendencies in our own youth can flourish. Work will be divided between the CCYM and the building of an independent organization to the detriment of our general advancement. One section of our young comrades will be



pulling against the other.

A Party youth bureau must be established, meeting regularly with the fraction and aiding it in its work (in determining policies, preparing material for the work, classes, public meetings, etc.). The activity of the members in the CCYM must be stricly under the direction of the fraction as a whole. In view of the fact that our work will be of an "illegal" character, extreme care must be exercised in carrying it out. The stakes are too great for us to lightly jump in so that we can be thrown out, with perhaps a few more.



# Fellow Workers and Fellow Unemployed

**We Relief Workers of  
York Township are**

## **ON STRIKE 100%**

**Scarboro Workers Unite with us!**

**We are Fighting for:**

1. Restoration of ALL Relief Cuts.
2. Raising of RELIEF TO 35% above the Campbell Report for ALL Relief Recipients.
3. JOBS for ALL at Trade Union rates, through Public Works Projects.

**Why are we Striking?**

The Hepburn Government forces vicious Relief cuts  
the Township Council endorses this action!

**This STRIKE must be SUCCESSFUL!**

**HOW?**

1. Strikers stand firm until your minimum demands are granted—Keep your discipline under your democratically elected strategy Committee.
2. **TRADE UNIONISTS** - The interests of the Strikers are your interests, the Trades & Labor Council endorses this Strike, COME to its AID with financial and moral support.
3. Working Class of York Township **STAND** solid with the **STRIKERS**, be prepared to join them on the Picket line if necessary **ATTEND** their

**MASS MEETING**

**Saturday, April 8th.**

**at 2.30 p.m.**

**KEELE and ELORA RD.**

Extension of Unemployment and Agricultural Act  
of 1937 to include all unemployed Young People.



**Strikers' Strategy Committee**



# SCARBORO RELIEF UNION

TO FELLOW WORKERS OF SCARBORO  
EMPLOYED AND UNEMPLOYED !

The Provincial Government has forced the Municipalities to make drastic cuts in the Relief standards of the Unemployed. These cuts mean a ten per cent reduction in food allowance; removal from relief of all single unemployed; cutting off of household medical supplies, dental service, mattresses, garden seeds, school supplies, and reduction of clothing allowances.

The Relief Workers of Scarboro, together with their fellow Relief Workers of other Municipalities in the Greater Toronto area, are on strike for recognition of the following demands:

1. Restoration of all Relief Cuts.
2. No single unemployed person to be cut off Relief until such time as work at wages is available.
3. Jobs for all at trade union rate of wages on public works projects.

## **MASS MEETING** **Danforth and Wanstead** **Saturday, APRIL 15** **2.00 P.M.**

A reduction in Relief Standards means an eventual reduction in wage standards. Trademen's and Professional men's incomes will also be reduced. We appeal to you for your moral and financial support.

ISSUED BY THE STRIKE COMMITTEE



## **“RESOLUTION ON C.C.Y.M. (Revised and Edited)”**

The primary task of the SYL is to organize the working class and student youth into a revolutionary Marxist political organization; to draw the broad masses of proletarian youth into the struggle for the overthrow of capitalism, and for the energetic support of the general revolutionary struggle of the working class led by the revolutionary party. Just as the Workers Party of Canada comprises the first cadres for the new revolutionary party, so the SYL is the nucleus for the new youth organization.

To accomplish this task it behooves the SYL to carefully analyse the existing workers' political youth organizations, indicate their inadequacies as militant leaders of the youth and formulate such policies as can win allies in these groups, for the construction of a new youth movement.

At no time has the Young Communist League succeeded in reaching, not to speak of organizing, the large masses of young workers and students. The CCYM, however, is making a bid for the leadership of the Canadian youth, and it is especially necessary to examine very carefully this new development in the Canadian working class movement. The fundamental defect of both the Y.C.L. and the CCYM is that they are politically dominated by the adult parties, the Stalinist Communist Party and the CCF respectively; both parties (rejecting) revolutionary Marxism, and are incapable of developing militant youth organizations which can lead the young workers against capitalism.

The defeat of the German and Austrian working class due to the false policies of Stalinism and Social Democracy, the quickening march of Fascism, the deep economic crisis and the sharpening class struggle have had a profound effect on the Canadian youth. This is reflected by the growth of the CCYM in the short few months of its existence. It is on this background that our position on the CCYM must be drawn.

A great potential source of recruitment for the new revolutionary youth movement is the CCYM. Under the impact of events in Germany and Austria and the sharpening of the class struggle in Canada, the CCYM has taken the opportunity to multiply numerically and increase (its) influence and prestige. The new young workers who have been attracted in recent months have brought with them their problem(s) and have pressed for their solution. Above all the absence of a revolutionary youth organization and the bankruptcy of the YCL, the official Communist youth organization, permitted this lease (on) life for the CCYM.

The CCYM is a right-centrist organization; an organization employing revolutionary phraseology, e.g., "The overthrow of capitalism," "the bankruptcy of reformism," "class-conscious organization," etc., etc., but it has no clear program on any of the burning issues (militarism and war, Fascism, trade unions, students) or the basic issue of the road to power. Its leadership and the bulk of its membership accept the political



leadership of the CCF, viz., "The Constitution of the CCYM shall not violate or run counter to the spirit of the Constitution of the CCF." It differs essentially from the CCF, however, in the fact it adopted a program of immediate demands at its first convention. An age limit of 35 guarantees the CCF an artificial control of the youth organization. Within the ranks a serious interest is developing towards the fundamental problems of the revolutionary movement.

The progressive character of the leftward drift of the Canadian youth, mirrored in the rapid growth of the CCYM, offers excellent opportunities for the Spartacist Youth League. The future of our movement depends a great deal on the effectiveness of our force and methods of work. To date we have succeeded in establishing a small fraction in several units of the CCYM in and around Toronto, for fraction work must be developed cautiously, and at the same time without delay. The SYL, because it is a small and handicapped organization must make every effort to establish friendly relations with the members despite the handicaps. Debates, united front actions, etc., should be fostered by our units; the *Young Militant*, particularly, should play an important part in this work.

An especially important part of our CCYM work is the question of internationalism. We should continually pose the international aspect of working class problems and the subsequent necessity of international ties and connections. This will present itself an excellent opportunity for popularizing the "International Bureau of Revolutionary Youth Organizations," with headquarters in Stockholm, Sweden. This buro which grew out of the Luxembourg conference in 1934 must march ahead to the formation of the new youth international. As a section of this buro it is our profound duty to work concretely to build the new youth organization in Canada under the banner of the New Youth International. In this regard it becomes necessary to explain the general bankruptcy of the 2nd and 3rd Internationals, and their youth sections.

While there is a general interest in the problems of the revolutionary youth movement, there is a marked antipathy towards the Y.C.L. in Ontario. The Stalinist youth are looked upon as disrupters and disorganizers, and this feeling has been exploited by this leadership as an excuse to postpone indefinitely the question of the United Front. As yet the CCYM has no position on this major tactic. We must take advantage of every opportunity to press for united action on specific issues; our proposals while directed to the leadership must be coupled with a constant agitation among the rank and file. We must realize that the membership are composed in the great majority of sincere young workers to further the cause of socialism.

Such questions as: internationalism, reduction of the age limit United Front, clear positions on war, industrial work, etc., will constitute the major part of our fraction work.



This, coupled with mass meetings, *Young Militant* articles, debates and friendly contacts between SYL and CCYM members will guarantee the steady growth of our ideas in the CCYM.

We must clearly understand that as yet we are not the new revolutionary youth league, but only the nucleus for the creation of it. The CCYM at present is the gauge which measures the radicalization of the Canadian youth. In it are contained many militant and leftward-moving young workers. In coming months the CCYM will experience great internal struggles. The left wing today is weak and disorganized, chiefly centered around the issue of the United Front. We must organize this left wing and give it guidance and leadership. The left wing must be taught to realize that sooner or later they will come into conflict with the reactionary leadership who will attempt to throttle this inexorable development of the rank and file. We must be careful to rest this responsibility on the proper shoulders. Out of the CCYM may come the basis for the launching of the new revolutionary youth league in Canada.



OPEN LETTER TO C.C.Y.M.

Dear Comrades:

After considerable serious discussion in our organization, we have decided that the most promising path towards building a real, mass socialist youth movement in Canada is to build and develop the C.C.Y.M. Accordingly we have dissolved the Spartacus Youth League, and our former members are joining the C.C.Y.M.

The considerations that have prompted us in this action are of some importance, and will explain our motive. Above all, our members in the past, and the present move is no exception, have acted in a manner which they deemed would bring about the downfall of the capitalist system and the institution of a planned socialist economy in Canada in the shortest possible time. The fight for socialism, however, is conducted by and through the organizations of the working class and farmers and their youth. The problem then confronted us as to where we can best work for socialism in our time. There were several possibilities that bear scrutiny.

The Young Communist League? This organization is a hopelessly bureaucratized machine, which acts today only in the interests of the reactionary Stalinist clique, whose policy of subordinating the class struggle for socialism in the "democratic" countries, to the policy of imperialist pacts and alignments, has developed the Y.C.L. into a conservative and retrogressive force in the youth movement. Freedom of thought or criticism is absolutely untenable in this movement. The road to socialism does not lie through the Y.C.L. or any of its pseudo-"unity" groupings.

Build an independent youth organization? The movement of the workers and farmers and their youth today is away from all kinds of small leagues and groupings. At one time such a position was possible, but at the present it would only be sectarianism to think that the correct road lies through this "chemically pure" type of organization. An objective view of the situation leads to the conclusion that there is very little possibility for a small grouping to grow appreciably, or to become a decisive factor in the near future.

Our consideration then turned towards the C.C.Y.M. We believe that here is the attraction center of the movement of young workers and students who are rebelling against capitalism and earnestly want to bring about as soon as possible a planned socialist economy in Canada. Here is no bureaucratization such as pervades the Stalinist youth organization, and by and large it does represent a healthy mass movement of young workers, farmers and students throughout Canada who are sincerely working for socialism.

We consider that to stand aside from such a movement would be a position of ultra leftism, and therefore we have decided to join the C.C.Y.M. Many of our former members have considerable experience not only in the political and economic activities of the working class organizations, but also in the social, sports and cultural fields. We believe that we can be a real asset in the building of the C.C.Y.M. as a genuine mass movement for socialism.

You perhaps think that we want to come in only to disrupt the work of your organization, or to engage in long polemics that have no practical value, bearing in mind the now open members of the Field group or R.Y.L. We emphatically state that we have nothing in common with their attitude to the C.C.Y.M. They are hopeless sectarians, incapable of working in the living movement. We, the former members of the S.Y.L. dissociate ourselves from this clique.



We join, not to disrupt your organization, but to help build it. As far as the differences between us, we believe that in the struggle against capitalism the theories and programs which are a guide to action will be fully tested and judged accordingly.

The S.Y.L. in the United States has for some time been part of the Young People's Socialist League, and the overwhelming majority of the Y.P.S.L.'s are fully convinced that the work and activity of the former members of the S.Y.L. is ample proof of the correctness of the step made.

We retain our principled stand, the ideas of Marxian socialism. And accordingly, we urge our sympathizers and all class-conscious young workers and students to join with us in the immediate task ahead, organizing and developing the C.C.Y.M.

FOR THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE,

SPARTACUS YOUTH LEAGUE OF CANADA.



## **C.C.F. Moves to Exploit B.C.'s Radical Youth**

*(undated, found in May 1936)*

The Socialist Party of Canada (BC section) and the Associated CCF clubs, the two links that form the CCF here in BC have decided to merge into one body – soon. This act will actually be accomplished at a convention. As a result of this move the CCF will be stronger, more disciplined and an efficient body in the coming Federal elections. However, even with an excellent senior body, the executives realize, that there is another factor to be organized for a successful election campaign – the youth.

There are two youth bodies in BC that enjoy a fraternal relationship with the CCF, the CCYM and the SYL; the organizational structure and political party and group. As individuals, their members can support any party or group they see fit, thus they are adherents to many sections and parties in the revolutionary movement while the organization is tied to (none.) (Note: the CCYM was organized to be the CCF youth body, but the BC Section have been more or less ignored by the CCF, due to their dominant leftist attitude. The move was a failure in the eyes of the CCF executives. The CCYM in BC is not officially connected with the CCF.)

Now that the elections are in sight, the executives of the CCF are out to get these two organizations for their campaigners. Formerly, the youth as individuals gave almost all of their support to the CCF so there was no need for a direct affiliation between the youth and the seniors. Now, however, this support looks to be lagging in numbers, but of more importance still, their present rate of political development (of) the youth both in the CCYM and the SYL will soon be in advance of, and in opposition to, the utopian, petty-bourgeois policy and program of the CCF. Realizing this, the more awake of the executive politicians of the CCF are moving to gag the two bodies, the YSL and CCYM, as an official CCF junior body. In this move they hope to merge and submerge the YSL and CCYM. Failing this, one of the CCF executives intend to organize an official CCF Youth group in opposition to these bodies, cutting off their fraternal support. According to information on hand, that is the move to be made – whether it will be carried through to the finish or not remains to be seen.

Moves of this kind have been made before, by more or less the same group. The organization of the Federated Council of Youth and the intentions back of the CCYM? It's inception, are historical proof. The CCYM and the YSL (have) the organization and prestige to withstand this siege – that has been (revived!) They can if they desire hold to their organization and principles, for the CCF will find it hard to organize a fairly strong youth body of their own as impossible and impossible to organize an effective opposition to them.

The CCY(M) is developing into a fine organization both in quality and quantity and its affiliation with the YSL has proven advantageous for both bodies. The YSL is a fine, democratic and able structure for carrying on revolutionary work. For developing the political understanding of its members and followers, is unsurpassed; its anti-sectionalist attitude and open minded discussion on tactics gives it a place in the vanguard of the revolutionary movement, that no other organization can take: it is the ideal revolutionary student body. It would be a shame for these bodies to be (submitted) in the interests of the CCF or any one party or group.

To our comrades of the YSL and CCY(M) in BC, we say – hold the fort, boys

Signed: Spartacus, S.Y.L. Vancouver.



## C.C.F. Moves to Exploit B.C.'s Radical Youth

The Socialist Party of Canada (B.C. section) and the Associated C.C.F. Clubs, the two links that form the C.C.F. here in B.C. have decided to merge into one body - - Soon, this act will actually be accomplished at a convention. As a result of this move the CCF will be a stronger, more disciplined and efficient body in the coming Federal elections. However, even with an excellent senior body, the executives realize, that there is another factor to be organized for a successful election campaign---the Youth.

There are two youth bodies in B.C. that enjoy a fraternal relationship with the C.C.F., the CCYM and the Y.S.L.; the organizational structure and political party or group--- As individuals, they can support any party or group they see fit, thus they are adherents to many sections and parties in the revolutionary movement, while the organization is tied to none. (Note: The CCYM was organized to be the CCF youth body, but the B.C. Section have been more or less ignored by the CCF, due to their dominant leftist attitude. The move was a failure in the eyes of the CCF executives. The CCYM in B.C. is not officially connected with the CCF).

Now, that the elections are in sight, the executives of the CCF are out to get these two organizations for their campaigners. Formerly, the youth as individuals gave almost all of their support to the CCF and so there was no need of a direct affiliation between the youth and the seniors. Now, however, this support looks to be lagging in numbers, but of more importance still, is their present rate of political development the youth in both the CCYM and the Y.S.L. will soon be in advance of and in opposition to the utopian, petty bourgeois policy and program of the CCF. Realizing this, the more awake of the executive politicians of the CCF are moving to bag the two bodies, the YSL and CCYM, as an official junior CCF body. In this move they hope to both merge and submerge the Y.S.L. and C.C.Y.M. Failing this one of the CCF executive politicians tends to organize an Official CCF Youth group in opposition to these bodies cutting off their fraternal support. According to information on hand, that is the move to be made---whether it will be carried through to the finish or not remains to be seen.

Moves of this kind have been made before, by more or less the same group. The organization of the Federated Council of Youth and the intentions back of the CCYM? At its inception, are historical proof. The CCY and the YSL have the organization and the prestige to withstand this siege---that has been proved! They can if they desire hold to their organization and principles, for the CCF will find it hard to organize a fairly strong youth body of their own and impossible to organize an effective opposition to them.

The CCY is developing into a fine organization both in quality and quantity and its affiliation with the YSL has proved advantageous for both bodies.



They YSL is a fine, democratic and able structure for carrying on revolutionary work. For developing the political understanding of its members and

followers, it is unsurpassed; Its anti sectionalist attitude open minded discussion on tactics gives it a place in the vanguard of the revolutionary movement, that no other organization can take: It is the ideal revolutionary student body. It would be a shame for these bodies to be subme in the interests of the CCF or anyone party or group.

2.

To our comrades, of the YSL and CCY in B.C. we say---Hold the fort, boys.

Signed

.....Spartacus...

S.Y.L. Vancouver,



(May 1936)

## Ontario CCF Convention Turns Down United Front

Stalinist Overture Steamrollered — Williams' Futile  
Filibuster — Collapse of C. P. Foreseen

### "Left Wingers" Quit Executive

The debate on the "united front" was the main item of interest at the Ontario CCF convention held in Toronto during the Easter week-end.

The comprehensive report of the Executive Council delivered by Graham Spry, claimed a total of 174 clubs in existence. Only fifty however were represented at the convention, from twenty-seven constituencies, representing a membership of 3,619 of which 2,197 were from Toronto.

The "New Commonwealth" the official organ now stood on its own feet, without assistance from the Council or the units. It has a financial turnover of \$11,000 per year, with a current circulation of around 4,000.

Thirty-seven candidates contested the provincial election and nearly fifty the federal. The total federal vote cast for the CCF in the province was 126,492. The Council reports that many trade unions support the CCF and that in most of the larger centers the majority of delegates on Central Labor Councils accept their political leadership. The youth movement is represented by 35 units and the CCYM is not only pursuing a policy of close cooperation with the adult body but the youth units are affiliating.

#### The United Front

The report of the Executive informed the delegates that the Ontario section of the Communist Party had applied for affiliation to the CCF Ontario Section. The following is quoted from the printed report:

"This raises therefore the question of the united front as proposed by the Communist Party, as a result of the decisions taken by the August meeting of the Third International in Moscow. As stated in the official document on this subject, the application of the 'revised tactical line' of the Communist party means in Canada, first, the Communist party proposes to 'transform the CCF into

a broad peoples farmer-labor party' This means that the present CCF disappears, that the present constitution be revised and that a loose federation be formed. Second, that this federation be open to the affiliation of the farmer, trade union, middle class and communist groups, as well as Social Credit and Reconstruction groups. Third, that the basis of such 'unity' be opposition to war and fascism, defence of the democratic rights and advocacy of the general interests of the masses. In summary the CCF is to be transformed, a new party is to be formed and the Communist party is to remain the same but to affiliate with the new party formed out of the CCF."

The report states that in addition to the letter received from the C.P. "contact" representatives have been sent into the clubs to apply "pressure" upon the CCF to accept this new proposal. "The Council however adhered to the decisions and declarations of the national convention and the national councils — a policy of independence of all other political organizations."

On this subject the report continues:

But in view of the new proposals the provincial council states, first, that no proposal to transform or destroy the C.C.F. can be countenanced; second, that the affiliation of the present Communist party to a new party or to the CCF will not, in the immediate present, strengthen the appeal of socialism to the general public; third, that the Communist party has yet to demonstrate that it sincerely desires to advance the work of the CCF or that even if its present proposals are now sincere, that its present proposals will not be changed at the next meeting of the Comintern. Fourth, at the same time, the provincial council recognizes that a unity of all progressive, anti-capitalist forces is essential and that the basis of such a unity,

at the present time, is adequately provided by the C.C.F. programme and constitution.

#### The Resolutions

Three resolutions from Toronto clubs furnished the meat for the "unity" feast. One for the calling of a conference of all "other socialist, farmer and labor groups in Canada, right and left wing, for the purpose, if found possible, of amalgamation and the establishment of one nationwide political organization united in program and policy".

The other two asked the convention to go on record for united front activity with other organisations, in order to "contest war and fascism" and for the revision of the constitution to enable the CCF "to cooperate with other groups — political and non-political—in issues regarding War, Relief, May-Day and like demonstrations."

The chairman indicated that the debate was of little practical value as only the national convention could decide the policy in this respect; and that only units of the organization were entitled to send resolutions to the national gathering. This is typical of the approach of chairman Mitchell to all questions of policy and program. His mind seems to be bound in a constitutional strait jacket. The obvious question was to determine the position of the convention on the subject and not the constitutional road to the national convention. The truth is that no one seems to know just what the constitution allows or disallows. The Executive reported united front activity with communist and other groups on the Regina Trek, arrests, (Cont. on Page 3)



# C.C.F. Ontario Convention

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etc. with no suggestion that they had violated the constitution. The convention chairman when pressed to give his interpretation of limits prescribed by the constitution, stated there was nothing to prevent CCF units from participating in conferences or composite bodies even if communist groups were there along with others. The prohibition seemed to lie in the CCF and C.P. directly cooperating or in initiating any com-

mon movement.

At any rate confusion reigns on the subject. The question will not down and like Hamelt's ghost keeps popping up upon all occasions. One exasperated delegate exclaimed, "These discussions on unity only cause dis-unity."

## The "Left Wing"

And so the "left-wing" went to battle for the united front. And never did a left-wing play a more

hapless role. A few of them of course are the "contact" representatives referred to in the report and are no more or less than stalinist stooges who are not in the least interested in seeing a truly left-wing develop in the CCF. So much the worse for stalinism if it does. There are however a number who have convinced themselves that when they support these utterly vague pleas for "unity" and "get-togethers", they are playing a progressive part in the life of the organization. In effect they are doing the very opposite.

None of the united fronters had the honesty to mention specifically the Communist Party in the resolutions. "With other organizations" covered that, altho every one knew what was intended. If "other organizations" means the trade unions and mass organizations of the workers, why does not this "left-wing" turn its attention to these bodies, to develop united front activity on the basis of immediate demands?

## An Honest Approach

This honest and open approach of course would bring them up against the leadership of Woodsworth, Mitchell, Cotton, etc. with its open reformist, purely parliamentary policy and perspective. It would raise the whole question of the policy and practice of the CCF. There is nothing in the CCF constitution to prevent them doing this. The pre-convention editorials in the New Commonwealth had posed these questions, which were entirely ignored at the convention. It is just these questions that the rank and file workers in the CCF want raised and discussed. That given a leadership CCF workers can and will fight for their immediate needs has been amply proven.

## Double Dealing

But the stalinist-CCF united fronters have other fish to fry. The above policy would mean an awakening in the CCF. It would mean an attraction of the politically unorganized workers to its ranks. It would mean a fight for an aggressive and militant leadership and the coming forward of a really left group-



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ing closer to the masses and resting upon them for support. But all this would mean more than that. It would mean a challenge to the existence of the so-called communist party and that is where the representatives of stalinism in the CCF must draw the line. And this of course not only because of the future favors that are in store for them, international conferences of this and that; trips to Paris and Moscow, front seats in the fight against war and fascism, favored friends of the Stalinist Order, etc. but because stalinism has no basic alternative policy to offer.

Essentially the policy of the present leadership of the CCF on war and fascism is similar to theirs. All the liberal, reformist program of the Stalinist "Peoples Front" and "Peoples Governments" can be realized within the limits of the CCF program and platform. How then can the stalinist agents oppose the present leadership and policy of the CCF? Only by pleas for unity, unity, which in themselves mean nothing and only confuse and confound the workers. Unity for what? That is the question. United front action on what specific issues? There is the unity of the fighting army and the unity of graveyard. The parrot cry of the Stalinist today for "unity in the interests of the masses of the people and against war and fascism" means just nothing in our class society and is deliberately coined just because it means nothing and disturbs nothing.

#### The Discussion

In this setting what else could the discussion on the unity resolutions be but a burlesque. Not one supporter could state the case openly. The question of why and wherefore was evaded. Mrs. Morton's exhortation to "get together now before we are all thrown together" or Mrs. Loeb's illustration of how everybody could walk in one of her "peace parades" even to the Daughters of the Empire

and the Governor General and "Satan himself" is an indication of the ideological level of the debate.

Havelock from the Spadina Club was the only speaker who went to the root of the question from a CCF viewpoint. Firstly he dragged the question into the open. This was not a question of united front activity with other workers organizations but the real issue was the matter of joint activity with the Communist Party. He had never gone out of his way to attack the C.P., he stated and he had no intention of doing so now. The question was, what had their movement to gain from cooperation with the C.P. What is the policy of the Communist Party?, queried Havelock. Wherein is their policy different from ours? He then briefly recounted the history of the Communist Parties. There was a time when the communist party really was a revolutionary party, with a revolutionary policy and theory. While we may have disagreed with it, at least it was respected for its revolutionary integrity and devotion. It was feared by the class enemies of the workers. But today the communist parties were "on the way out" all over the world. The communist parties have abdicated. They went down to inglorious defeat in Germany without a fight. They have formed the Peoples Front in France and are seeking a "Peoples Government" and are not to be distinguished from the socialist and liberal parties. In fact just today, he stated, we find in the press that the communist candidates in the French election are appealing for support on the basis of the glories of French history. Soon the socialist and communist parties will become one. There is really no reason for the separate existence of the C.P. today. A united front may be still advisable in France where the C.P. still represents a considerable section of the working class, but in Canada matters are different. If then the Communist parties are on "their way out," why should the CCF spend time in talking about a united front with a party that has no different policy from theirs and has not the wide influence of the CCF. He finished by declaring, that the CCF can become

the historic party of the Canadian working class if it conducts the struggle in the interests of the workers.

#### The Williams "Fight".

And so the major debate ended with the present policy being sustained (whatever that may be) by a vote of about three to one probably about twenty delegates being mustered for the united front resolution, practically all from Toronto. Nothing of further consequence took place. There were the usual luncheon speeches. Arthur Williams of East York staged a filibuster, the purpose of which seemed to be known to no one but himself. While Williams' "heart" no doubt lies far from Woodsworth or Mitchell he also took no principled stand. While the newspaper publicity he received may have given the impression that he had "put up a fight" against the administration, this is far from being the case. In the debate on the united front Williams actually stated, that he did not care which way the question was settled as long as they decided one way or the other. Never once did Williams say which way HE would like it settled. There is no doubt but that reactionaries like Teskey would that reactionaries like organizations like the East York Workers dissolved. The attempt to form clubs in the district is for that purpose. Williams rightly fights against this attempt to dissolve. But Williams will have to look beyond East York. He will have to make up his mind which road he intends to travel. All that Williams' fight amounted to at the convention was a determination to stand up when the chairman asked him to sit down. The chairman of course eventually won.

It is difficult to determine just what is behind the refusal of former Executive members, such as Gilroy Fish, Williams, to run again for Executive seats. Fish and Gilroy were with the "united fronters" and Fish particularly has been used by the League Against War and Fascism. The reason given by Williams when he declined the nomination for Executive was that "owing to what happened yesterday" (the spat with the chair) he could not see his way to run again, did not hold water as he had already unsuccessfully contested the position of vice-president.

It may either be desertion or some deep laid strategy.



# SOLIDARITY!

The strike of protest against recent relief cuts and discontinuance of relief to single workers over eighteen years, has developed during the past two weeks into a broad mass movement of protest of all thinking people in the Township. The condition of those forced through circumstances to accept relief has been reduced to below a decency level and has aroused the indignation of employed workers, property owners, business men, professional people, ministers, veterans and others.

So powerful has this protest become that the Provincial Government have agreed to a "revamping" of the budget of the Township, which opens up three possibilities:—

1. The manipulation of present monies remaining to the credit of the municipality so as to increase relief funds.
2. The levying of increased taxation against the homes of the people of the Township.
3. Opening the budget for further consideration of Provincial grants to the Township for relief expenditures.

We, the General Strike Committee, wish to state emphatically that we are opposed to any increased tax levy being made against the small home owners of the Township, in order to continue relief at its present level or to increase it to the May rates.

We are convinced that the Provincial Government can and must secure sufficient funds to not only maintain present rates, but to increase them to their former level and to place single workers back on relief rolls. That no tax against the people, on their homes, business, gasoline, etc., etc., is necessary is shown by an editorial in the Daily Star, June 16th, concerning Dominion Textiles. Similar examples of exorbitant profits exist in all parts of the Province from which the Provincial Government can secure funds.

We believe that a demonstration of the unity that has been achieved in the Township between the various organizations and individuals can force the Provincial Government to go to this source to secure funds for additional expenses in our and other municipalities for relief expenditures, and to maintain a decent and adequate scale of relief to the unemployed.

The General Strike Committee, therefore, calls upon all organizations and upon all individuals to participate in the Parade and Mass Meeting in Queen's Park on June 26th, which will express the protest and indignation of Toronto and all suburban municipalities who are preparing to take part in the meeting.

The present situation in the Township and surrounding municipalities is one of grave importance to all working people. The support accorded to the unemployed in York Township during the last two weeks is proof of that fact, and proof of the interest of the average individual. The possibility of increased taxation upon the home owners, and renewed attacks upon relief scales calls for immediate action—ON YOUR PART.

**PROTECT YOUR HOMES AND YOUR FAMILIES. PROTEST TO QUEEN'S PARK JUNE 26th.**

Time and place of meetings for this Parade will be advertised throughout the Township.



## Trouble in the Family

Bitter internal disagreements of the CCF are bringing home to Canada the truth of the Marxist thesis that in the declining period of the capitalist system it is impossible to build mass social-democratic parties, because the master class can no longer afford to make the necessary concessions to preserve the illusions of the rank and file in such organizations. The CCF, with but seven members in the federal house, and with no immediate prospects of gaining office in any province is already faced with formidable revolts against the hide-bound social-democracy of the Regina program. On the west coast left wing and right are at open war with each other, while the Ontario section is being rocked by the expulsions of units and individuals for defying the executive edict against official participation in the Toronto May Day celebration sponsored by the Stalinists.

The latest development is a decision of the expelled units to appeal their case to the National Council of the Party. This follows the ruling of the Provincial Council that any expelled unit would be reinstated if it undertook "to abide by the constitution of the CCF and give undivided loyalty to the policy of the CCF as decided by its democratically constituted governing bodies."

The provincial executive felt quite safe in making this generous offer in view of the fact that the last provincial convention adopted by a good majority a line of "no truck or trade with the Communists". But this will not satisfy the Stalinists, who more or less directly govern the tactics of the insurgents. Obsessed with their new panacea of a "People's Front", the CP moguls would give their eye teeth to get some sort of official recognition from the CCF.

The CCF tops, anxiously concerned lest they taint their respectability by contact with "reds" and so hopelessly alienate the voters of the small town and the farms, are firmly resolved to ignore the existence of the so-called "party of revolution", and so add to the effectiveness of the latter's demagogic appeals for "unity".

Certain it is that the question cannot be settled by mere convention decision or executive decree. When city workers almost have to precipitate a small civil war to resist a wage or relief cut, they cannot preserve the illusion that socialism can be brought to the nation by parliamentary methods. And the increasing severity of the capitalist onslaught upon the living standards of the masses will drive this lesson home with increasing force. But these awakening masses are due for more bitter disillusionment if they are allowed to fall prey to the insidious deception of the "People's Front" now being peddled so energetically by the Stalinists. Tireless exposure and struggle against both illusions is the heavy and vital task of the small forces of revolutionary realism.



## RESOLUTION ON ORGANIZATION – FOR PROVINCIAL CONVENTION – NOVEMBER 1936

WHEREAS the Provincial Executive has in the past period played a bureaucratic and sabotaging role in the development of the C.C.Y.M., by rejecting not only individual applications, but keeping out whole new branches as “suspicious,”

AND WHEREAS the whole grounds for these wholesale rejections were the presumed political opinions of these members and recruits, i.e., they were suspected of not being in entire agreement with the Provincial Executive

AND WHEREAS these methods have played a decisive factor in the withdrawal of the Woodbine and Danforth units, and the near loss of East York; these units containing a large section of the Toronto membership

AND WHEREAS this line has degenerated the Provincial Executive what should be an organizational leadership, into a first—class detective agency, playing primarily a role of keeping out so-called “suspicious left-wingers”; and as a result finding little time for building and developing the C.C.Y.M. Which is its first and most important responsibility.

AND WHEREAS THE C.C.Y.M. Is, or should be, a healthy youth organization which believes in the principles of democracy within its ranks, and which allows differences of opinion therein to be solved in the healthy environment of discussion, and not by the bureaucratic method of administrative maneuvers

RESOLVED that the line of the late executive committee be thoroughly repudiated, and the principles of democracy be reinstated.

## RESOLUTION ON CONVENTION ARRANGEMENTS

WHEREAS A series of guest speakers and luncheons occupied a major portion of the last convention's time

AND WHEREAS A good many delegates had to leave immediately after the election of officers, which was held in violation of normal convention procedure, **prior** to the discussion on resolutions on policy; thus not permitting of ample time and opportunity to reach conclusions on policy, which had only a two (hour) allotment on the agenda,

BE IT THEREFORE RESOLVED that henceforth the election of officers shall be placed as the final item of the convention

AND FURTHER that **one whole day** be given to **resolutions on policy**.



## RESOLUTION ON DAILY STRUGGLE

WHEREAS an integral part of the struggle for socialism is the active support of partial economic demands of the working class, such as higher wages, better relief standards, etc.,

RESOLVED that the C.C.Y.M. will help in the organization of workers into trade unions, unemployed organizations, and will support the struggle of these workers, and that the C.C.Y.M. will enter into joint activity with other sectors of the labor movement on these and other pressing working class issues which arise from time to time.

## RESOLUTIONS ON WAR

### I IMPERIALIST WAR

WHEREAS imperialist war is caused by the economic system of capitalism , which drives the nations of the world (into conflict over ) other's threats for markets, spheres of influence, sources (of conflict);

RESOLVED that the struggle against war cannot be separated from the struggle against capitalism, and that the C.C.Y.M. will actively support the class war of the oppressed for socialism, and wars of colonial peoples for national liberation; and will attempt to turn imperialist wars into a struggle for the overthrow of capitalism.

### II LEAGUE OF NATIONS

WHEREAS The League of Nations, despite the membership of the Soviet Union, is a body of capitalist powers, dominated by Great Britain and France, and was established after the Great War to legalize the robber treaty of Versailles, and is not and could never be an instrument of peace

RESOLVED that the working class can lend no support or collaboration to that body, but that the part of the C.C.Y.M.'s struggle against war, is the consistent and unceasing exposure of the League and its policies; and that the C.C.Y.M. will advocate only **independent action** of the working class.

### III DISARMAMENT

WHEREAS capitalism is a class society, whose continued existence depends primarily upon the armed strength at the command of the ruling class

AND WHEREAS arms are not only necessary to conduct capitalist wars for markets, but are also necessary for the suppression of the oppressed working class and colonial subjects

RESOLVED that the slogan of disarmament is a utopian one, and can only spread illusions about the nature of the struggle against war, and that the C.C.Y.M. must expose disarmament conferences as an integral part of the hypocrisy and screen behind which the ruling class prepares for war



#### IV NEUTRALITY

WHEREAS capitalism is international, and Canada is an integral part of world capitalism, and cannot be isolated, but depends on the world market for its sustenance, and will inevitably be drawn into a world war

RESOLVED that the policy of “neutrality” and such slogans as “Keep Canada out of war” are illusory, and can only confuse the people of the nature of the real struggle against the war, which is the abolition of capitalism.



## Resolution on WAR

It is evident to the most casual observer that the working and student youth of to-day are faced with an impending war between the capitalist nations for a re-division of the world markets and also the growing danger of a war of intervention against the Soviet - Union.

The advocates of disarmament fail to realize that arms are necessary for the existence of the capitalist system not only to wage wars for the re-division of the world markets but also to suppress by force any attempt of the oppressed classes "at home" ~~xxx~~ to question the continued existence of this decadent system. The same force that drives the various capitalist nations to war makes it necessary for them to create and keep up armaments in order to wage these wars. ~~There-the-advocacy~~ ~~fore~~ the advocacy of disarmament under capitalism can only spread illusions among the working masses as to the possibility of peace under an economic system the very structure of which makes war inevitable.

Canada as a capitalist nation is inseparably bound up with international capitalism. British and American capital especially have a tremendous influence over Canada's foreign policy. The slogan "Keep Canada out of WAR" can lead only to an illusory pacifism and consequent complete demoralization of the working class upon the outbreak of an imperialist war in which Canada will be forced to enter as a link in the chain of world capitalism.

For the working class organizations to support the "democratic" nations against "fascist" nations in the event of war is a rank betrayal of working class interests. Both forms of government express the dictatorship of finance ~~capital over the working class and any of the so-called "democratic" nations would~~ ~~xxxx~~ and will resort to fascism if necessary to protect their economic power. Furthermore in time of war even the most "democratic" nation enforces a military dictatorship at home - censors press, prohibits free assembly etc. Therefore the slogans for the CCYM to proclaim are "the enemy is at home" "turn the imperialist war of the Capitalists into the civil war for the emancipation of the oppressed masses".

The League of Nations was formed to preserve the status-quo as laid down by the robber treaty of Versailles. It is the meeting place of the imperialist bandits where they decide the division of the smaller oppressed nations among the larger nations. At the present time it expresses the interests ~~of British imperialism which can at no time be considered as identical with the interests of the working class.~~

Support of the League of Nations is a policy of class collaboration and a policy of betrayal and confuses the issues at stake-the irreconcilable struggle of the workers and farmers against their oppressors, carried on at all times and especially during war.

Be it therefore resolved that war is an inherent part of the capitalist system, that it is a continuation of politics by other means and that war cannot be abolished until the capitalist system itself is abolished;

That the Italo-Ethiopian conflict is the struggle of Italian capital for a larger share of the world market at the expense of the Ethiopian people and the Italian workers;

That we support the struggle of the Ethiopian people as a progressive struggle against imperialism and that we call upon the Italian workers to overthrow the real enemy- the capitalist class at home as the next step in the international struggle against capitalism;

That we dissociate ourselves from the sanctions policy of the L. of N. since the support of the League in economic sanctions will inevitably lead to support in military sanctions and therefore to the support of British imperialism and the consequent betrayal of the working class into another blood-bath of imperialist war. The working class must apply its own sanctions against Italy by means of sabotage of shipments of goods to Italy, strikes etc., and by joint demonstrations of all working class organizations, and the greatest possible support of the Ethiopian masses.



## Resolution on Fascism

Whereas the capitalist class, maintaining itself by the exploitation and subjugation of the great masses of the people under the cloak of a democratic form of government, designed to keep hidden the real dictatorship by force through the medium of the state machinery; And whereas the institution of Fascism in Germany, Italy etc., has demonstrated how the capitalist class when faced with the threat of working class revolt, rallies around itself the demoralized unemployed and the disgruntled middle class elements by demagogic and nationalistic appeal, and institutes an open and bloody dictatorship, destroying all working class organizations, trade unions etc.;

Be it resolved that the CCYM resists by all possible means Fascist propaganda of all kinds, and extends the hand of international solidarity to those workers in other countries existing under the most brutal form of capitalist rule.

And further that the CCYM recognizes the necessity of united action by all working class organizations against the growing menace of Fascism.

Moreover the defeat of the working class forces in Europe by the brutal fascist forces demonstrates conclusively that the struggle of the working class must go beyond the bounds of parliamentary action, and that only by the organization of the working class on a revolutionary basis can the final defeat of Fascism be assured.



Whereas the support of thier respective capitalist governments by the Socialist Parties in 1914 and their collaboration in sending the workers to a bloody death for capitalist gains clearly demonstrated the bankruptcy of the 2nd International, And wheress the 3rd International ~~was~~ controlled as it is by the bureaucracy of Stalin and his group and used to serve the interests of the foreign diplomacy of the USSR at the cost of international working class defeats, has shown itself to be incapable of independent action to further the interests of the working class of the world;

Be it resolved that since the struggle for socialism is an international struggle, the CCYM goes on record as being in favor of a new youth international composed of all revolutionary youth organizations on the basis of a revolutionary marxist program for the emancipation of the international working class and the institution of a socialist economic system.

RESOLUTION RE. UNITED FRONT

Whereas owing to capitalist propaganda made possible by control of the press, radio and by creation of capitalist institutions within the working class, is split politically in its journey towards class-consciousness and therefore disunited and weakened in its attempts to wrest a greater proportion of the national wealth from the capitalists in the form of better living conditions, the CCYM places itself on record as supporting these struggles for immediate demands and expresses its willingness to co-operate ~~in presenting~~ with other working class organizations in presenting a solid front against the capitalist exploiters, realizing at the same time that these struggles lay the foundations for the struggle for power and that the struggles themselves without this conscious idea behind them are fruitless.

*working class*



# **VOTE FOR BILL BUTTERWORTH**

**FOR  
DEPUTY REEVE — WARD 3  
YORK TOWNSHIP**



**Fighter for the Working Class**  
**SOCIALIST WORKERS' LEAGUE OF CANADA**



## **FELLOW WORKERS:**

Twelve months have passed since you elected "your" last council.

Have they been your representatives?

We say: No!

Has there been any change in the miserable conditions of the workers, unemployed or employed alike?

NO! There can be no change as long as you continue to elect representatives of the capitalist parties.

They administer the affairs of the township not for your benefit, but for the capitalist class whose servants they are.

We, the working class, must elect members of our own class to serve us.

We don't try to delude you by suggesting that by electing one of our class we can cure all the evils of the system. But you can be assured that all the manoeuvres behind the scenes will be exposed to the workers.

We present the following program, and will at all times fight for it, whether elected or not.

## **TAXATION**

We support and will fight for a graduated assessment tax, to decrease the taxation on the workers and small home owners and place it on the homes of the wealthy and upon industry.

## **RELIEF**

All cash relief at the preset scale, 35 percent above the Campbell report; to include clothing and provisions for non-consumable articles, such as household utensils.

## **WATER**

We advocate an immediate investigation into the water department, because of the failure to reduce the water rate after a reduction had been obtained from the city.



## A SLIDING SCALE OF WORKING HOURS FOR TOWNSHIP EMPLOYEES

With no reduction in pay, to lessen unemployment in the township.

## ABOLITION OF RELIEF LABOR

This work to be done by men taken off the relief rolls and paid at the municipal rate of pay. We shall fight for a 40-hour week with no reduction in pay.

## FRANCHISE

The right of everyone to vote upon reaching the age of 18. If the youth are old enough to go to war, they're old enough to vote.

## WORKS PROGRAM

We shall fight for a bold housing program to replace the rotten slum areas with modern comfortable homes for workers at low rentals. This will offer constructive employment to the hard-hit building trade workers. One of the chief tasks of labor must be to centralize relief costs and public works financing in the Federal Government, so that the small home owners and farmers do not bear the brunt of costs. The burden must be placed on those best able to bear it; the higher incomes and wealthy corporations.

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Alongside of these demands, which are necessarily restricted to the Township of York, the Socialist Workers' League on a national scale fights for a program of action which should be of considerable interest to every working man and woman.

A large number of railway workers who live in York Township will be particularly interested in our program on the railroad question. We fight Sir Edward Beatty's scheme to have the C.P.R. swallow up the C.N.R., not merely be opposing amalgamation, but by championing the unification of the railroad system **under workers' control**. No other plan will



prevent economies being effected at the expense of the workers. A sliding scale of working hours will divide all the work at hand amongst all railroad workers with no reduction in pay. Naturally this will have to be done at the expense of the rich C.P.R. stockholders and C.N.R. bondholders, but we cannot shed any crocodile tears over those people who have plundered and robbed the natural resources of this country and who now lead parasitic lives at the expense of the working people.

## **WORKERS' CONTROL OF THE POWER INDUSTRY**

Hydro inquiries have demonstrated conclusively that the present system of state "ownership" is merely a front for corruption, graft and super-profits. We must put an end to the reign of the power barons, and unify the industry throughout Canada under the control of workers' committees.

The right to work is the last serious right left us in a society based on exploitation. We stand for work and decent living conditions for all. If capitalism cannot give us this, then let it perish.. There is only one road that labor must travel, and that is towards independent working class political action. That road alone can guarantee us the right to live.

Forward to a Workers' and Farmers' Government.

And let us begin by voting for Bill Butterworth in Ward III, and we shall then have made a beginning in the proper direction.

**York Township Branch**

**SOCIALIST WORKERS' LEAGUE OF CANADA**

**(Canadian Section of Fourth International)**



# The Lunatic Fringe Rejoices

At regular intervals the LRWP, better known as the Fieldites, if known at all, distributes a leaflet or headlines its paper with the news of a new split in the labor movement. These splits are news indeed, for the labor movement is unconscious of their occurrence. A few months ago, for example, this group launched a new youth organization known as the Revolutionary Youth League, on the basis of a deep-going cleft in the CCYM between the left and the right wings. An ambitious leaflet was distributed with about half a dozen signatures attached, claiming that the CCYM was now run dry of revolutionists and that nothing but a reformist morass was left. A careful scrutiny of the names revealed that most of them were Fieldites planted in the CCYM for the legitimate purpose of moving it in a leftward direction. The success of their work may be gauged accurately by the split, which was heard of only by the immediate circles of their group. With the utter disdain that the scholastic has for the worker, their chins are too high for the CCYM. Incapable of coping with the living movement, they refuse to see it. Thereafter the CCYM no longer existed for them.

It was genuinely humorous therefore to learn through another leaflet, of a new split, this time in the Workers Party of Canada. Attached were the signatures of four individuals who purported to be members of the WP. Two of these, I. Sharpe and A. Meslin had never been party members but were members of the Spartacus Youth League. Both had been under suspension for a period of months, the latter for inactivity, the former for a gross piece of disloyalty to the organization. At the time of her suspension Sharpe flatly denied any sympathy or connection with the Field group. The other two, C. Graham and G. Mill had been inactive for over a year. The former, while in the west, did not deign to answer party correspondence addressed to him, and upon his return to Toronto, studiously avoided his comrades. It must be admitted that the charges of these people concerning the looseness of the party are supported by the fact that they were not expelled at an earlier date.

And so another split is recorded in the annals of labor history! The lunatic fringe rejoices! Meanwhile, with the unerring instinct of the living organism the labor movement cleanses itself.



We formally made a decision to enter the CCYM last July and by September all our members with the exception of a few of the more prominent were in the CCYM.

Just before the Provincial convention we sent an open letter to the PEC explaining our intentions and asking for admittance as individuals. The convention obviously under the control of the PEC rejected us by a vote of 19-6. Also they made it quite plain that no political discussion would be carried on at the convention, first by pointing out that a prov. convention does not discuss political policy and secondly by voting against the idea of a national convention of delegates.

Of necessity then we have to consider our next move, whether it is correct ~~xxxxxxx~~ and possible to attempt a back-door entry into the CCYM via the idea of the Socialist Youth League, or whether a serious analysis of the present situation leads to the conclusion that we must take for our perspective for the immediate future the preparing of a split in the CCYM with the purpose of building anew an independent revolutionary youth organization on the basis of the program of the 4th. Int.

Most of the former opposition to entry ~~came not~~ <sup>did not come</sup> from a principled consideration-~~that~~ <sup>is</sup> considering that at no time and under no circumstances is it correct for a revolutionary organization to enter into reformist or centrist groupings for the purpose of winning recruits to a marxist program) but on the contrary came from the point of view of tactical opposition- (entry was premature-there was no left-wing base already existing from which we could direct our attacks on the bureaucracy, no left-wing on which we could have decisive influence; and that due to this fact we would ~~not~~ be ~~accepted by the CCYM~~) <sup>prevented from carrying out our revolutionary work in the C. E. Y. M.)</sup>

However when the final decision was made, those who had opposed entry from that standpoint accepted the discipline of the majority and collaborated loyally both in the EC and in the membership in carrying out the decision as effectively as possible. Despite all our efforts, however, we were formally refused. Whatever the individual actions of our comrades that have caused some criticism, it must be recorded that this refusal primarily due to the present state of affairs in the CCYM and it is on this that we must base ~~ourselves~~ *on perspective*.

First let us consider why we enter reformist or centrist organizations generally: we enter the reformist and centrist organizations in the first place because they are experiencing an influx of workers breaking away from the bourgeois influence and at the same time powerful leftward developments are taking place in these parties, while on the other hand we are comparatively isolated from the main stream of the labor movement. We enter in order to win as large a number of recruits as possible for our program, and although we may spend the first period entrenching ourselves, it must be recognized that in order to carry out ~~our~~ tasks we must have an increasing amount of freedom to express our point of view. As this will entail a struggle with the bureaucracy and right wing it is quite obvious that unless there is a left-wing tendency already existing (perhaps not grouped around a definite program but of whose existence there cannot be the slightest doubt on whom we can not only base our work upon and try to influence after entry but whose existence is an essential prerequisite for effecting ~~successful~~ entry we stand very little chance of successfully combatting the right-wing. For as soon as a revolutionary grouping enters a reformist or centrist grouping the right wing inevitably organizes itself and begins a fight to isolate and expel the revolutionaries, and as they are in control of the apparatus it is absolutely necessary that we have a real "native" base from which to work.



It was precisely the lack of this base on the one hand and on the other <sup>unity</sup> considerable doubt as to "the ever-quickenning flow of workers into the CCF and CCYM" that was the basis of our opposition to entry last July and <sup>it is</sup> precisely the lack of this ~~new~~ left-wing native base at the present time coupled with the obvious fact that the CCYM is following the ~~road of~~ <sup>road of</sup> disintegration that makes ~~it~~ necessary that we reject the perspective of the CCYM for the present and the immediate period ahead ~~and~~ ~~until~~ ~~such~~ ~~times~~ ~~as~~ ~~the~~ ~~young~~ ~~workers~~ ~~really~~ ~~begin~~ ~~to~~ ~~come~~ ~~into~~ ~~the~~ ~~CCYM~~ ~~until~~ ~~such~~ ~~times~~ ~~as~~ ~~a~~ ~~left-wing~~ ~~tendency~~ ~~begins~~ ~~to~~ ~~develop~~ ~~but~~ ~~even~~ ~~Kennedy~~ ~~can~~ ~~produce~~ ~~no~~ ~~evidence~~ ~~to~~ ~~show~~ ~~that~~ ~~there~~ ~~is~~ ~~the~~ ~~slightest~~ ~~trend~~ ~~in~~ ~~this~~ ~~direction~~.

For the past year the CCYM has steadily declined, neither of the development foreseen by Kennedy took place- on the one hand the rapid influx of young workers did not take place and on the other hand the native left-wing tendency did not develop to any appreciable extent.

It is for these reasons that we do not consider it correct to orient ourselves towards this now obviously decaying organization until such times as the the young workers really begin to come into the CCYM, until such times as a left-wing tendency begins to develop but ~~even~~ <sup>now</sup> ~~Kennedy~~ can produce no evidence to show that there is the slightest trend in this direction.

Now as to the immediate perspective <sup>outlined in the thesis drawn up by com. Kennedy.</sup> of Kennedy- that of building a Socialist Youth League-building an organization reformist or centrist in nature, affiliated to the CCF either through the CCF district units, or through the already existing Socialist Youth Club and to work for future fusion with the CCYM on a democratic basis.

Taking the general analysis of the IS which states that in this period the parties of social democracy and centrist groupings will experience a rapid influx of workers who are becoming class-conscious and that powerful left-trends will make their appearance in these parties and that revolutionaries cannot isolate themselves from this movement, Kennedy mechanically applies this to the Canadian scene at the present time. That such a movement will take place is quite probable and perhaps even inevitable but that does not mean by a long shot that the CCF and the CCYM are the organizations that will receive this influx. On the contrary the fact of the matter is that these organizations have been disintegrating ever since the Federal Election and show no signs of checking this downward trend. This is due not only to the fact that this movement of workers away from the bourgeois parties has not reached a considerable proportions as yet, not only to the internal situation in the CCF and CCYM, but is due very much to the fact that there is a much more powerful reformist grouping in Canada, with just enough ~~and~~ revolutionary background to capture the imagination of the masses-the CP. a factor which Kennedy did not even bother to consider. He states that we must get in on the "ground floor" but to get in on the ground floor necessitates a foundation in the first place for the argument and ~~that~~ <sup>that</sup> is precisely what is lacking-there are no signs that would indicate of this movement to the CCF and the CCYM. He thinks that the fact that we cannot get into the CCYM officially matters but little, "the CCYM is bound to grow" therefore we must get in the back door-via the Socialist Youth League. He sees a small grouping in the East End of Toronto of perhaps 10 members at the most that broke away from the CCYM PEC on the question of dues (Back payment) formed a Young Socialist Club, whose activity centers around dances and has a very poor social composition, an organization that has absolutely no idea of building a socialist youth league as opposed to the CCYM nor is not particularly interested in getting back into the CCYM or of conducting any serious socialist activity and ~~it is~~ <sup>it is</sup> towards this group that Kennedy suggests we orient ourselves in the forth coming periods, but he says "the potentialities are there"- what potentialities that exist exist only in Kennedy's mind. There is no evidence, no signs, at all that any serious minded marxist can claim as proff of these potentialities.



"In other words there is no reformist groupings that we can enter at the present time, there is no centrist groupings ~~at all~~ so as the CCYM must grow (although everything but Kennedy's imagination points ~~to the~~ that the opposite is true) we must get in on the ground floor of the centrist groupings (which do not exist) in order to achieve back-door entry into the CCYM which is steadily disintegrating and shows no signs of checking this.

Then too to successfully build the Socialist Youth League to any size would require the ~~mothering~~ <sup>support</sup> hand of the CCF over its head, Kennedy in thinking this a possibility grossly underestimates the connections between the CCF and the CCYM as if the former did not know of and approve our exclusion from the CCYM.

What then is the perspective that must be adopted- generally speaking it is this to begin immediately to prepare the ground in the CCYM for a split, towards the reconstitution of the SYL. In other words to orient ourselves ~~for the~~ on the basis of the above analysis, away from the CCYM and towards an independent revolutionary youth organization.

This split cannot take place overnight, it must be carefully prepared, leaving all members in the CCYM at present, recruiting to the Bunch as rapidly as possible, and ~~splitting away~~ and carrying out the split in the most dramatic manner possible. As for those who cannot officially get in their cases should be taken up separately as to their individual merits.

What does preparation of the split mean- it means opening up more political propaganda in the CCYM forcing issues. recruiting to the bunch at an increased rate of speed. It means a very careful scrutiny of every event so as to determine its significance: so that we will be able to determine the exact time when to carry out the above intention and set up an independent revolutionary youth organization. *note.*

Will this not interfere with the WPC and the CCF orientation? *is this stage*

A CCF orientation in the first place does not necessarily mean entry, in reality it means orientating ourselves towards the advanced workers and by that recognizing that our main emphasis at the present time is put on propaganda activity. In the second place what has been said of the CCYM also applies to a greater or lesser degree to the CCF. Since the Federal elections it has been steadily decaying and no left-wing can be discerned. Underlying the whole matter is this- the development of this movement that the IS thesis spoke of is a dialectical one; that is on the one hand you have the workers who are becoming class-conscious under the pressure of events breaking away from the bourgeois parties and flowing into the social democratic and centrist organizations and on the other hand the development of powerful left-wing trends inside these organizations. These two developments take place side by side and mutually interact on each other and on the organization as a whole, a revolutionary kernel entering into this stream can crystallize this movement around itself as the nucleus ~~and~~ despite the efforts of the bureaucracy to prevent it.

The point that we make is that this movement has yet to take place in Canada particularly in Ontario where most of our forces are concentrated and even when it does it is not at all certain that the CCF and CCYM will be the organizations affected. We make no prophecies beyond saying that ~~new~~ perhaps new centrist trends will spring up or perhaps because of the peculiarities of developments in Canada the CP will attract because of its left coloration the majority of those who are breaking away from the Capitalist parties.

The chief reason why the left-wing trends have been so slow in developing in the CCF and the CCYM is because of the lack of influx of workers during the past 12-16 months and also one of the reasons why this did not take place was due to the internal structure of the CCF and CCYM.

*See over*



That is why briefly we cannot orient ourselves towards the CCYM or enter the CCF at the present time and also why we must continue the present independent existence of the WPC and prepare immediately for a split in the CCYM and the reconstituting of the independent revolutionary youth organization on the program of the Geneva Congress of the 4th.Int.

Clark

Dowson

(Murray-ed)



Now as to the perspective of Keenedy.

That is, to work on the basis of the Socialist Youth League, with a perspective of building an organization, affiliated to the CCF either through the district CCF units or through the existing Socialist Youth Club. And working for fusion at a future time with the CCYM and on a democratic basis.

1. The SY Club in the East end has only at the most 10 organized members and an active nucleus of 6. It was formed on the basis of a non-payment of dues to the P.E.C.. Its active work consists in running dances and has no idea of extending itself as a Soc. Youth League. Beaches does not exist as an organized body.

2. East York- in the first place it would not "shake the CCYM to its foundation" if it left. Opposition to the P.E.C. comes to a great extent on the financial problem although there can be no doubt that they are more class-conscious and militant than the CCYM and are willing to allow political freedom and discussion. They are intensely outlook local in outlook and the possibilities of another double-cross on Tonner's part is quite probable.

3. Kennedy grossly underestimates the connections between the CCF and the CCYM. There can be little doubt that the CCF knew of and approved of our exclusion from the CYM. There is no possibility of getting the mothering hand of the CCF on this SY Club. The SY club will be immediately labelled Trotskyist and as far as the possibilities of effecting fusion with the CCYM, the experience of the Danforth is sufficient to show that even if the CCYM accepted the SY club it would be on the condition of the exclusion of the former members of the SYL.

Generally speaking we go into reformist and centrist organizations in order to win their membership for our program, we go in to disintegrate these brakes on the workers movement, not to build them but to break them.

Our perspective.

1. Leaving all members in the CCYM who are already there with a view to building up the Bunch at an increased rate of speed and to open up more political propaganda in the CCYM with a view to laying the basis of a split towards forming a revolutionary youth organization.

Those members who cannot get in the CCYM - their case can be discussed on the basis of their individual ~~works~~ merits.



CP

6? (Attached) -ed.

This is not a complete thesis but more of a skeleton form of what we propose. *should be done.*

1. We enter into reformist organizations and centrist groupings because they have a mass following and are attracting the young workers who are rebelling against capitalism and on the other hand because we are a comparatively isolated grouping.
2. We enter in order to win as large a number of recruits as possible to our program and in order to do this we must be able to carry on in comparatively open manner our propaganda.
3. As this will entail a struggle with the right wing it is easily seen that the success of our tactic depends on the fact that a left-wing current coming towards a marxist position is in existence, that is a definite left-wing perhaps not openly organized but nevertheless in existence as a tendency that can be discerned.
4. The reason for this, is that we must have some base from which to work, not only after we get in but also on which to our actual entry on.-so that we have some "native" base from which to work against the bureaucracy.
5. As soon as we begin to work in a reformist or centrist organization, the right wing immediately tightens up and organizes its forces against us and unless we have no native base from which to work it is almost inevitable that they will succeed in their attacks against us.

With these things in view let us look at the CCYM, quite objectively and analyse itself it and our experiences since we entered in July.

1. The CCYM is not a growing mass organization of the youth, in fact it is disintegrating. We base our judgement not on this or that individual happening but on the general tendency of the movement. And here we must record the fact that the CCYM is at the present time and has for the past period ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ been disintegrating and shows no immediate possibilities of checking this. At least there are no signs on which we can base ourselves to say that the CCYM will begin to grow rapidly. Perhaps some indulging in wishful thinking will say that the CCYM is bound to grow and that we must orient ourselves accordingly. This is a fallacy, we must base ourselves on fact not on our imagination.

2. The CCYM at the present time presents little possibility for open propaganda even in elementary programs. There was no left-wing to base ~~xxxxxx~~ our work on and such does not exist even now (outside the Bunch) and herein lies the root of our difficulty. That is why entry was premature and also why we failed to be admitted into the CCYM.

~~xxxxxx to the basis~~



# **CITIZENS of YORK TOWNSHIP**

It is our hope that the information contained in this leaflet will enable you to better understand the present desperate plight of the unemployed and how you may assist them in their time of need.

## **Relief Allowances Cut**

Until April 1st a family of four on relief received for a week \$4.14, 7 quarts of milk and 10 loaves of bread. The mother, therefore, had to provide 84 meals—less than 5c. per meal—out of this pittance.

Every cent spent on soap, sewing cotton and other such items necessary to health and decency still further reduced this amount.

This represents the average relief scale except that the amount per person is less as the number in the family increases.

On April the 1st the Provincial Government cut these meagre allowances by 10%.

How can any family live on this? Figure it out for yourself!

## **What of Our Youth?**

On April 15th all single persons over 18 years of age receiving relief are to be struck off entirely. Nobody, not even those who made this decision, can suggest where they may find work.

SOME MAY BE YOUR BOYS OR YOUR NEIGHBORS! What will become of them!

## **Everybody's Problem**

Unemployment affects not only the Unemployed, but is the main source of the difficulties of the BUSINESS MAN, the PROFESSIONS, and the TAXPAYERS generally.

How has unemployment affected York Township?

The total amount expended on Relief in York Township in a year averages \$1,250,000. This is approximately 50% of the wages those receiving relief would earn if they were employed at wages. Taking into account those unemployed and not receiving relief, it is clear that the people of this municipality each year have a loss of income through unemployment that greatly exceeds the total relief budget. Since money circulates more than once in a year the loss of purchasing power of the people of York Township runs into millions of dollars.

THIS EXPLAINS EXISTING BUSINESS CONDITIONS, LACK OF BUILDING ACTIVITY, THE INABILITY TO PAY TAXES AND THE LOSS OF HOMES.

Reduced relief means reduced wages, income and purchasing power of our people and increases rather than reduces the burdens of other sections of the population.

## **Unemployed Oppose Increase in Taxes**

The Unemployed of York Township are unanimously opposed to the present relief cuts and demand their immediate restoration without any increase in taxes or any extra levies such as were imposed upon our citizens in 1936.

The people of York Township must bring pressure to bear upon the Provincial Government to restore the relief to the standards prevailing before April 1.

## **Citizens of York Township**

Support your unemployed citizens in this emergency!

Send protests to the Provincial Government.

Telephone or write your representative in Parliament and members of Council to support us.

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Authorized by York Township District Council of Unemployed.



**Extract from ‘Statement of N.C. Minority’ (Jan. 28, 1937 – see cover)**

Pages 41 & 42: ...Already the strategy and tactics as pursued by our comrades in the CCYM is beginning to break down. The Beverley unit, which our comrades organised, will most likely be expelled in the near future. But, although the majority of its members will follow our group, it may be expected that the bureaucracy will succeed in breaking off a number of members who will follow their opportunist line. Our comrades will thus have done a service to the bureaucracy by having recruited for it some new supporters.

A still more glaring example of the danger of this senseless policy is contained in the recent occurrences in York Township. In that district no C. C.Y.M. unit existed and one of our comrades (Ross Dawson) was directed by our fraction to attempt to organize such a unit in the expectation that it would be under our influence. Comrade Dawson proceeded to get some people together and after a while he succeeded in forming a group of some 16 young workers who agreed to constitute themselves as a branch of the C.C.Y.M. For tactical reasons, however, our comrade had to carefully conceal the fact that he is a Trotskyite or that he has any revolutionary leanings. However, because he is a brother of another Dawson, who is a prominent party member (which is enough ground for suspicion), the bureaucracy at once became alert and after calling young Dawson the carpet for cross-examination, they started to work within the group to isolate and undermine his influence. This met with complete success. After the provincial E.C. refused to recognize the group as a branch of the C.C.Y.M. unless they would expel young Dawson, the group expelled its founder and organizer for the price of a charter from the opportunist bureaucracy. Here our comrade spent his time and effort to organise a group of young workers in order that the unscrupulous bureaucracy of the C.C.Y.M. might take it away from his influence and transform it into a reformist organisation. Thus our comrades are actually building the C.C.Y.M. -- for Lazarus and his gang.

This tragi-comedy in York Township is indicative of what we can expect unless the inexcusable line followed by our comrades in the C.C.Y.M. is radically changed. If Ross Dawson had organised his group around a clear revolutionary program (as is the only way for a revolutionist to do), the C.C.Y.M. bureaucrats would not find it so easy to manoeuvre him out and keep his group for themselves. However, since Dawson had to hide his identity and speak the same language, or a similar language, as the bureaucrats, he wiped out all political distinction between himself and the bureaucrats, and the question of who would triumph now depended only on who would be more able to manoeuvre and cheat. Naturally the bureaucracy was a sure winner.

The lesson of this incident must engrave itself in bold lines upon the minds of our comrades. The revolutionist does not claim to hold an advantage over the reformist bureaucracy in the sphere of scheming and manoeuvring. The strength of the revolutionist lies in his principles. His hope of success rests on the correctness of his program...

*(end of extract) (Ross Dowson was misspelled Ross Dawson in the original  
(See archival notes – page 2)*



*Archival notes by Web Ed.*

*Re : above « Extract » page : the CCYM group Ross Dowson had organized was refused admission by the CCF brass because he was Murray Dowson's younger brother, as well as due to his left-wing agitation.*

*Re notation by Ross Dowson on title page : « very important document all the moreso in that there is no serious majority document (Jan 28(37) – where is RD.'s contribution. By Maurice Altman – The whole tune of this document is defeatist – formalistic, sterile – obviously no leadership – see Ross Dwson p.41 – when did RD join Cdn section? p. 45 – NB—in opposing adult entry – have to sharpen up youth work »*



S T A T E M E N T

O F

N. C. M I N O R I T Y

very important document all the more so  
in that there is no serious majority document

Jan 28 (37)

where is RD's  
Contribution

by Maurice Alloman

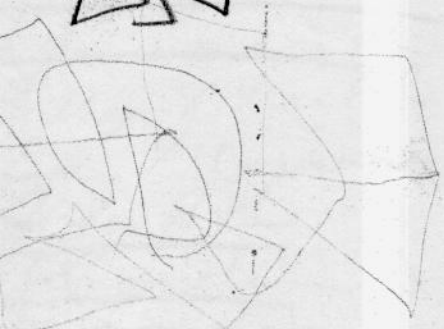
See Ross Brown p 41  
p 45

When did RD  
RB

in opposing a built entry  
have to sharpen up your work?

The whole tone  
of this document  
is defeatist-  
formalistic, sterile  
lacking any leadership  
section?





175  
 125  
 340

David Spring

Gladwynnes

Rayne  
 Proles

N. Mendelson

Membership Report  
 Your Replies

Stalbins

B. Markle

E. Morrison

J. Stern

G. Brooks

J. Bortwell

M. Woods

~~XXXXXXXXXX~~

Gladwynnes

D. Locke

T. Tictin

Meslin

Bayes Segal, Robles  
 Yulman, Coates  
 Sumner



Henry Kennedy  
Joe Kennedy  
Ross Dawson  
Murray Dawson  
Murray Spring  
Dave Spring  
Herb Shiman  
S Johnstone  
S. Korman  
Betty Meekle  
Eve Morreim  
J. Guedd  
J. Gordon  
M. Gordon  
G. Luback  
J. Skene  
D. Zarnett  
W. Mendelson  
J. Locke  
L. Locke  
A. Keene  
D. Eisen  
J. Brooks  
J. Gladwynne  
Robinson  
J. Birchwell  
M. Woods  
H. Sachs  
F. Baumann  
Leo Baumann  
A. Greenhaus  
~~Ed. Greenhaus~~  
F. M. Mammens

49

35  
15

Anne Medlin  
L. Clarke  
M. Seegal  
K. Roschke  
B. Bayes  
F. Yutman  
Reuel Sawyer  
Max Cantor  
Fat friend of Margaret  
Joe Kendal  
S. Sumach  
Ruben Kayne  
Gordon Groves

Kennedy opportunities taken no step to work out Social at Youth Club

Tongue inform Joe et al. Lawrence  
 inform J. P. P. P.  
 P. P. P. P. P.  
 Sadie Sylvia  
 George S. S. S. etc

Montreal  
 Vancouver

Even a sum individual  
 we could do more work  
 than what one is doing alone  
 in the S.Y.C.

Noory no power of attraction  
 to our responsibility



## **Rough Notes by Ross Dowson - names of majority of activists of SYL**

## **Rough Notes by Ross Dowson - names of majority of activists of SYL**

*(handwritten document)*

Mar 1 1937

The purpose of this statement is to give the Workers Party of Canada a correct analysis of the work done by the Spartacus Youth League in the Cooperative Commonwealth Youth Movement in the past 8 months. We hope that it may be of value to that organization in making its decision concerning entry into the CCF.

The Spartacus Youth League decided to enter the CCYM in June on a vote of 17 for, 15 against. Work was not really started until the end of September. At the time of the decision there were about 32 members, today there are 29. Since the decision 12 have dropped away to be replaced by 9. Of the 32 who were active at the time of the decision 10 are now in the CCYM. Altogether there are 19 in the CCYM, the other 9 being new recruits put in the CCYM by us. Not one person has been gained by our entering the CCYM and putting our propaganda across. All the new recruits had been flirting around the movement for the past year or more. Of the 10 who are not members of the CCYM, 7 have been members of the executive of the SYL. Thus 7 who may be considered the most valuable members of the organization are doing no CCYM work.

The morale of the organization on the whole is very poor. When the question of working towards a split from the CCYM was brought up and voted upon, the vote was 8 for, 10 against. A question of such vital importance was considered important enough to vote on, only by 18 members. The attendance at city wide caucus meetings has been dropping off, and the unit caucus directors find it very difficult to call caucus meetings. Many of those who are in the CCYM have been attending the CCYM meetings very irregularly. At the last meeting of Beverley unit, where there is a membership list of 25, where we have a majority, and where there are 9 caucus members, only six people turned up, 4 of our caucus members and 2 contacts which they brought with them to hear a guest speaker. Observe the high morale of our comrades, observe just what the CCYM offers our comrades to turn into Trotskyites.

Our work has been confined entirely to the city of Toronto and district. In spite of the fact that the CYM exists in British Columbia, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, etc., in spite of the fact that it exists in Peterborough, Hamilton, etc., there is no connection between them. Not only has our work been limited to Toronto & district but even there, we are working in only 4 units.

Bickford 2 East York 2 Grant 6 Beverley 9

In order to avoid ambiguity and to get a true picture of the SYL activity it is necessary to analyze unit by unit.

In East York there are 2 caucus members. To understand their work and the possibilities of its effectiveness one must know that East York is an organization of unemployed youth and has very loose connections with the CCYM central office. This unit owes about \$20 to the central office, was expelled last year for participating in May Day and allows Stalinites & Trotskyites in, in spite of the convention decision. The influence of Stalinism is very strong there; the leader of the unit being very close to them. In the last election for the executive, the Lovestonites who had for a long time held a position on that body failed to do so - the election was almost a complete victory for Stalinism. It is important to note that H. Kennedy is a member of that group but not of the CCYM and that he is not allowed to stand for an executive position. The left wingers are gradually being pushed out. Any work that our comrades do at the meetings is undone during the week by the Stalinites, who have the



advantage of living in East York & having close contact with the members of that unit during the week. Both of the comrades have unfortunately been unable to attend regularly lately. Comrade Kennedy has been unable to conduct the study class for the past 3 wks. The class in Canadian History which is not a burning issue and which in its early stages will not bring contacts much closer to Trotskyism than to the CCFism or Stalinism - or are we still after 8 months of work and expulsions integrating ourselves.

In Beverley unit there are 9 caucus members. One of the 9 still has no membership card from the central office and another has just been expelled by the provincial executive on his record of 2 years ago. The average attendance at that unit although it has a membership list of 25 is 10. There are only 4 members outside of our caucus who attend with any sign of regularity and these 4 with regard to potentialities are very poor. Our comrades in reality are talking to themselves. Even the 9 caucus members are irregular in attendance, at the last meeting only 4 turning up.

In Beckford unit there are 2 caucus members (...) the other was assigned to that unit on Feb. 28, 1937. Little is known about the situation there. Up until Feb. 28 our tactic was to smash that unit and we had long since withdrawn other caucus members because of the futility of working there.

In Grant unit there are 6 caucus members only 4 of which are able to or do attend regularly. The CCYM executive is so powerful in this unit that it is apparently necessary to sacrifice one of the 4 to them for informational purposes. A Study class on Canadian History which our comrades attempted to organize collapsed. One of the members of the former CYL who has applied for membership has so far been refused on the ground that he has Trotskyite connections. A short while ago our comrades brought up the question of a minimum wage for men. The vote was 6 against (4 caucus members + 2 others), 9 for. A simple trade union question such as this reveals the potentialities that this unit offers to the members of our caucus.

*(earlier drafts attached ...)*

Over 1 year ago today the Spartacus Youth League, the official group of the 4th international in Canada formally decided to dissolve and enter the Canadian Socialist movement the CYM as so many of its sister groups had done. By September as many comrades that ever were able to enter the CCYM were in. With almost 9 months of work behind let us pause. Where have we failed, what have we gained and what remains to be gained. Before entry the Spartacus Youth League had almost 40 members, holding regular meetings once a week in 2 districts of Toronto, regular study courses street meetings and a paper. After entry membership about 25, meetings about every 3 wks and a total lack of centralization, discipline & enthusiasm.

*(groups of lists of names attached) (earlier drafts of notes attached ...)*

...CCYM entry has exposed itself as totally false (...) There was no attempt on the part of the majority to build up Socialist Youth Clubs & thus to enter the CYM thru the back door. Why - because they themselves realized its futility. The whole theory of the Socialist Youth Clubs was an opportunistic trick used by the majority to save its own face. What tidbit will the majority (take to) the membership now. (...?) Just what was the bait that made the membership of the SYL vote for CCYM entry. We were told that the CCYM was ...

SYL yesterday & today. Analysis unit by unit. Future CCYM holds - false idea - Socialist Youth Club - perspective towards unity with Field group. Fraction work in CCYM. Today one year after the Spartacus Youth League decided to enter the CCYM to work therein as an illegal fraction. Let us pause here - has & will our work be fertile enough to warrant further entrenching. Today when the word of Trotskyism is no longer heard.



BUREAU FOR FOURTH INTERNATIONALINTERNAL REPORT FOR ALL AMERICA - PACIFIC COMMISSION, FEB. 12, 1938I C. C. F.

Because of a certain looseness in organization on a national scale, the C.C.F. consisting of federated provincial sections, it is not possible to give an exact estimate of the numerical strength of the C.C.F. In Ontario, where the bulk of our own work is being done, its strength is claimed to be in the neighbourhood of 2,500 members.

Undoubtedly, throughout the country as a whole, the C.C.F. wields a greater political influence than any other working class party. In Ontario, the C.F. has a greater influence, but in the west, particularly in British Columbia, the C.C.F. is far ahead of the C.F. in strength and influence. The C.C.F. throughout the country has representatives in several of the Provincial legislatures as well as in the Federal government.

At its inception the C.C.F. was almost purely an electoral machine, but, particularly during the past couple of years, it has shown a tendency to enter directly into the struggles of the workers. The convention of the Ontario C.C.F., prior to our discussion of entry, revealed a growing tendency in the organization which desired direct intervention in the struggles of the employed and unemployed worker. Certainly the Ontario C.C.F. has striven to wield a greater influence in the trade union movement, leading it to play an important role in the General Motors strike in Oshawa in 1937. Most of the initiative in the trade union work so far has come from the rank and file membership, with the leaders trailing behind. C.C.F. participation in the trade union movement has led to protests by reactionary A.F. of L. officials against interference in economic struggles by the C.C.F.

The B. C. section of the C.C.F. has shown itself to be the most militant section, with direct participation in the longshoremen strikes and the fights of the unemployed. In 1936 the reactionary McConnell group was expelled from the B.C. C.C.F., giving the leadership to the centrist majority.

On the whole, the C.C.F., while remaining fundamentally a parliamentary reformist party, shows signs of moving in a leftward direction, or more correctly, of developing leftward currents in its midst.

II C. P.

Nothing need be said here of the political character of the C.P., beyond the fact that at the time of our discussion,



the People's Front drive was at its height.

Its strength is claimed to be in the neighbourhood of 10,000 members, centred in the Province of Ontario. It has of late, become more frankly an electioneering machine, placing the emphasis of its work on election of its candidates to government office, utilizing the most reactionary electioneering tactics to gain its end. In Toronto it has succeeded by these means, in electing two members to the city council.

### III WORKERS PARTY

During the latter part of the "third period" days, our organization experienced a period of relatively rapid growth both in membership and in influence. We succeeded in raising a considerable sum for the establishment of the Vanguard, which we published every two weeks. Our public meetings were well attended and through these meetings and the Vanguard we succeeded in reaching a considerable body of working class opinion. Because of the 3rd period attitude of the C.P. towards the C.C.F., our propaganda reached into the C.C.F. membership, to the extent of forcing certain minor officials in the C.C.F. to consult us and solicit our assistance against the C.P. At its peak our membership through the country reached about 125, with scattered close contacts in the Prairie Provinces. The majority of our members were in Ontario with a flourishing branch in Vancouver, a small group in Montreal and a small, unreliable group, with which we had unsatisfactory contact only by mail, in Winnipeg.

We had placed great hopes in the Vanguard as a means of building the organization, but, partly perhaps because of the character we gave the paper, it did not do so. Funds becoming low, the periods between issues became longer.

We entered a period in which we began a slight decline, which could be measured more by the dwindling of the enthusiasm of the members than by actual numerical losses. The fundamental reason for this decline was the change to the People's Front by the C.P., coupled with our own lack of mass contacts. People's Front propaganda made considerable headway among the workers who had been sympathetic towards our movement. Particularly towards the latter end of 1936 we began to feel our isolation most keenly.

The problem faced us more directly than ever before, how to overcome our isolation and establish mass contacts. The statement of the N.C. on the question of entry into the C.C.F. drew particular attention to an I.C.I. plenum resolution in which it was stated that we could not regard ourselves as the new parties, but as instruments for the building of these. We had not, previously, given the attention to this perspective that it deserved, concentrating our attention on the building of the Workers Party. The N.C., on the basis of an analysis of the possibilities open in the C.C.F., with its

P



trend towards direct participation in the workers struggles, decided for entry into the C.C.F. as a means of breaking through our isolation and establishing direct contact with the workers organizations and participation in their struggles.

The minority opinion in the Party took the stand that our present isolation was due to laxity on the part of the N.C., and that increased activity would be a means of overcoming our difficulties. This opinion completely ignored our lack of mass contacts and the absolute necessity of gaining such contact. The majority opinion recognized that on the road of independent organization, no matter how many public meetings we might hold, or how many issues of the paper we might print, valuable as these are, we would not succeed in rooting ourselves in the masses except by direct participation in their struggles.

#### IV YOUTH

Previously, the Spartacus Youth League had dissolved and entered the C.C.Y.M., despite the opposition of the youth bureaucracy to this move. Although the work was carried on in the most difficult conditions, the previous period of isolation was successfully left behind, and some fruitful work was conducted. During this period, the best elements in the youth, disgusted with the bureaucratic maneuvers of the leadership, left and entered the C.C.F. Our youth likewise transferred their activities, and now work together with the party comrades in the C.C.F. In B.C., the situation was much different, and our comrades were able to entrench themselves into leading positions, and are still conducting their work in the youth movement there. Like the C.C.F., the connection between provincial sections is very loose; in fact, there is no national committee in the C.C.Y.M.

#### V ENTRY

The entry discussion was carried on in the midst of a bitter atmosphere. The minority persisted in entering into a number of organizational disputes, such as a fight amongst our Ukrainian comrades, and much time and bickering was spent before the political issue was decided, with a vote of about 35 to 20 in favor of entry, and Vancouver unanimously for it. The minority refused to sit on the new Executive Committee.

Our negotiations with the C.C.F. resulted in their insisting that we dissolve the Party and enter as individuals; that no obstacles would be put in the way from the center, but that the individual units' decisions upon our applications would be decisive. This was carried out, and to-date no comrades have been rejected.

The first period of our work was one of organizational integration. We consciously pursued the policy of avoiding major political discussions, and concentrated our efforts in making friends, carrying out organizational tasks, and generally



trying to break down antagonisms between natives and ourselves. General class struggle activity, such as participation in the trade union and unemployed movements, was pushed.

## VI MINORITY AFTER ENTRY

The factional atmosphere continued after the decision. Our attempts to work out a practical program of action on the basis of the political decision was obstructed by the minority's charges of bureaucracy, liquidationism, etc. They refused to yield party property, such as a typewriter, records, money, etc., to the new C. C. It was then that the majority met for the first time as a caucus, and proceeded to carry out the decision. This was done only after repeatedly unsuccessful attempts to come to some agreement with the minority on practical work.

The minority began to disintegrate shortly after the general membership meetings stopped. Their leaders Altman and Macy deserted them, the former going to the West Indies for a period of months, while the latter joined the C.C.F., but continuing his hostility towards us. A short time ago, they organized a youth club in the Workman's Circle, (a cultural periphery of the C.C.F.) which is their sole activity today, apart from the distribution of our international literature. At one time there was somewhat of a danger that they might go to the Fieldites, (they attend their social affairs and meetings; handle tickets for them, etc.) but this appears out of the question today, partially because of our international literature, and also because of the sectarian policies of the Field group.

## VII SOCIAL COMPOSITION

The composition of our Vancouver group, which numbers about 25 including youth, is decisively proletarian. Most of the comrades are unemployed, and do some lumber work, and in the summer, harvesting. In Toronto, of the 40 reasonably active members with us, 13 are unemployed proletarians, 13 workers in factories, most of them belonging to trade unions; six University students; and 8 office or white collar workers, salesman, etc.

The minority group is less proletarian in composition. At the time of the split, their composition was as follows: 8 unemployed; 5 factory workers; and 7 white collar workers, salesman, etc. However, since then many of their group have dropped away.

## VIII OUR PRESENT ACTIVITY

Our work inside the C.C.F. is confined to Vancouver and Toronto. The period of organizational entrenchment has ended, reasonably satisfactory. Practically all comrades are in the C.C.F., a good many in executive posts, etc. Since December our work has taken a sharp turn towards politicalization



of the C.C.F. We have begun an offensive against Stalinism, concentrating on the question of the Popular Front, especially its Canadian medium, the Labor Representations Association, as a first step in the raising of key international questions.

This was further amplified in Chicago, where we met with two minority comrades and representatives of the All-America -Pacific Commission, into a concrete program of action, to be carried out in preparation for the April Convention of the Ontario C.C.F. Since then we have presented resolutions on the L.R.A., the Japanese situation, War, and have met with a fair amount of success. It is not yet possible to estimate our strength at the coming convention. Although we did not present an independent resolution on Spain, we have put forward our position in the pre-convention discussion only just begun. To our knowledge, the Russian question has never been debated at a C.C.F. convention, and we did not feel that the time was ripe, in relation to our stay in the C.C.F., to take the initiative in precipitating it, although our comrades are instructed to take issue, if the question arises.

A left wing legal organization, which will enable us to spread Marxist propaganda in an organized manner, is being attempted, and the initial plans have already been worked out.

In the early stages of entry, literature sales dropped, but since then there has been a substantial improvement, and the sale of the Socialist Appeal and New International, as well as our international pamphlets, is proceeding favorably.

The reorganized caucuses meet regularly, and at the present, the city is divided into three zones. The youth and adult comrades meet together, as all our activity is confined to the C.C.F. In Vancouver, the comrades also meet together, although work is conducted there in the youth organization as well, the provincial educational committee of which is controlled by our comrades.

We have not been able to sponsor public meetings, although an attempt in that direction has begun. Our new comrade, Henry Beattie, who was wounded in Spain, is being pushed wherever possible. One meeting so far has been arranged, due largely to the influence of our comrades in an unemployed organization.

Internal education forms a substantial part of the caucus meetings. At the present, the questions of the American convention are being discussed, and there is decisive agreement with the majority positions on the key questions.



## IX      NEGOCIATIONS WITH MINORITY

As the Secretariat has been informed of each step taken in this connection, there is very little that can be added. We shall not allow secondary questions to obstruct the fusion. What must be understood is that we are dealing with a group whose attitude towards us is subjective; that their group is so divided on this question that they have found it impossible to elect a representative contact committee; that individuals who admit agreement with the Chicago draft suggest that our is not sincere, at least, the sincerity of some of the comrades is doubted. It's very difficult to come to grips with an attitude like that, because it's not a political one.

Our concern for the Fourth International movement in Canada is every bit as great as that of the Commission. We feel that the Minority's central attitude and present sterile political existence is not an accident; and is in no small measure due to the composition and make-up of the group. Nevertheless if it is possible to obtain political agreement with them, even with part of the group, everything that is possible will be done toward that end.

## X        FIELD GROUP

This group, as in the U.S., lives a sectarian existence, and is not treated seriously by the labor movement. In its ranks are some activists, but the great majority are incorrigible sectarians of a doctrinaire type. We have always ignored the group, and since our turn to the C.C.F. Have barely heard of them, although in the past their factional work in our ranks, while ineffective, has been troublesome. Our position is emphatically in agreement with the Commission, i.e., that they are much more opposed to our international movement than they are to Stalinism. A striking confirmation of this came out at a meeting they held on the return of their leader, Krehm, from Spain, a large part of which was given up to polemics to us, including a reference to Trotsky, "the scarecrow of the international movement"! While we are attempting to contact individuals new to their group and as yet uncorrupted, there will be no orientation towards them. Any reports the Commission may have had to the effect that their group has recorded decisive gains is false, and originates no doubt from their propaganda.

## XI      OUR PERSPECTIVES

It is not possible as yet to estimate how long our stay in the C.C.F. Will continue. This does not depend entirely upon ourselves but in large part upon the bureaucracy. However we shall be in a better position to judge what possibilities exist for further fruitful work, after the April convention. We have again established relations with Vancouver as a vital factor in the coming period. There is no



sentiment in our ranks for an immediate split perspective, at the same time there is no capitulationist tendency in our ranks. We have no illusions about the limitations of work in a reformist organization, especially with regard to the time factor. Our international experience help(s) us in this regard.

The C.C.F., while outwardly stable, is composed largely of raw and uninitiated elements. While in Ontario its composition is overwhelmingly petty-bourgeois, there is a sufficiently large proletarian core to make our work worthwhile. Movements and splits have developed within its ranks regularly. These have been corrupted, (have) disintegrated and to some extent swallowed up by Stalinism, partly because of our own weakness, and also because of our isolation. We do not look forward to any great gains, but the entry experience will strengthen our movement greatly. Closer ties with the Commission will compensate in some measure for our young and inexperienced leadership.

Submitted by Executive Committee.



## **A DISCUSSION OF THE WAR CRISIS AND C.C.F. POLICY**

It may be only a matter of months before the C.C.F. will be put to its most critical test by war. With what concrete policy are we to meet this test? This should be the key question discussed by the provincial convention. The fate of our whole civilization, the lives of millions, rest upon a clear, unequivocal answer to this question, by the socialists not only of Ontario, but of the world.

Today we are on the brink of the second world war, are indeed witnessing the preliminary massacres in Spain and in China. Central Europe is a powder keg. The armament budgets grow fantastically larger. Hitler's program of German expansion as expounded in *Mein Kampf* takes on grim reality. 14 million Austrians are absorbed into the German Fascist state. Poland, learning from Germany, immediately threatens Lithuania with absorption or invasion. Pacts and understandings criss-cross in the secret intrigues of diplomacy. In Central and Southern Europe, the suppressed minorities straitjacketed in artificial boundaries created by the Versailles Treaty, clamour for self-determination.

The Soviet Union, encircled by a ring of hostile steel, finds itself isolated more than ever before. The foreign policies of its totalitarian regime have only succeeded in weakening the international position of Russia. The Moscow Trials, the unceasing purges, the execution of the builders of the Russian Revolution and the leading men in every walk of life, including the general staff of the army, have emboldened its imperialist enemies. But despite the absolutist character of the regime, the socialized basis of economy established through the great October revolution of 1917, still remains. It is therefore the duty of all socialists to defend these gains against imperialist attack, while recognizing that the Stalinist leadership itself weakens and endangers this defence.

Once again workers are being called to lay down their lives for a cause which is not theirs, which brings only slaughter, destruction and mass misery in its wake. Under those circumstances, the responsibility laid on the leaders of the labor movement is tremendous. The working class must have a party which will fight the war with deeds, not merely with words: -- a party which will make war forever impossible by destroying the system which breeds it.

In the tragic years of 1914-1918, the Socialists of the world, with the exception of a scattered handful of Internationalists, failed miserably to meet their responsibility and promises. Instead, they fell prey to jingoism, called off the struggle against the capitalist system, and lined up solidly behind their respective imperialist governments. However, these people had the slight merit, if you will, of supporting the war only after it began. Prior to its outbreak, they had been ardent pacifists, had even boldly threatened to call general strikes if war were declared.



What shall we think then of the political programs of the Second and Third Internationals today, who lack even this grace?

By espousing Collective Security, Popular and National Fronts, they have indicated their policy of union with the capitalist class even before the outbreak of general war. British and French Labor parties are frankly imperialist and patriotic, prepared to participate in National Governments to conduct war for “collective security”. Trade Union leaders are already conferring with government spokesmen, preparing to place industry at the disposal of the General Staffs of the armies. The French Stalinists have repeatedly voted war credits for the French army. American Stalinists ardently support Roosevelt’s billion dollar armament program, shoved through at the expense of relief and social services. Moreover, they fought bitterly the Ludlow amendment to the constitution which would have forced the president to call a national referendum, before declaring war. Here in Canada, the Stalinists call ceaselessly upon the government to enter into an alliance again in the name of collective security. Small wonder that the imperialists plunge headlong into the armament race, intrigue and jockey for favorable alignments in the war, with little fear of being embarrassed by civil strife at home!

We socialists in the C.C.F., who pay more than lip service to workers internationalism, who are undying enemies of world capitalism, must draw the true lessons from these events. Learning from them how NOT to fight war, we will then be able to take up the responsibility entrusted to us, of leading the struggle through to the establishment of socialism.

What are the real causes of imperialist war? They lie in the very nature of the capitalist system. Whether Fascist or democratic, because of its profit driven planless economy, every capitalist state becomes cramped within its obsolete national boundaries. It must seek abroad for colonies, markets, sources of cheap raw materials, and spheres of influence for capitalist investments, in order to live and continue to compete in the world market, even at the expense of war. WAR IS THUS THE LOGICAL CONTINUATION, BY OTHER, MORE VIOLENT MEANS, OF THE PEACE-TIME POLICIES OF CAPITALISM.

Today capitalism is in a state of general crisis and decay. There are no new worlds for it to conquer, only redivision of the old, by machine-gun and bomb. That is why any war undertaken by the great powers today is a reactionary war, counter to the interests of the masses, whatever the political forms of the warring countries, whatever the immediate cause. For the motives of the belligerents are the same on both sides the drive for profits and for economic power. That is why it is so dangerously misleading to attempt to differentiate between aggressor and non-aggressor nations. When all persist in holding flaming torches to the powder-barrel, who can say that only one is responsible for the explosion? And that is why it is criminal to seek to choose between democratic



peace-loving and Fascist war-hungry capitalism. For the despoiled victim, there can be nothing to choose between the robbers who have and the robbers who have not. As for democracy, it is a luxury that is lightly dispensed with by the ruling classes in times of crisis. With the declaration of war will come once more the complete extinction of the democratic rights of free speech, press and assembly in England, France and America, and the institution of military dictatorships, the plans for which have already been drawn in detail.

Can all this be prevented by the methods of pacifism, conscientious objection, refusal to fight? No, these are the blind romantic illusions of the ostrich who sticks his head in the sand. In this day of conscription, concentration camps, and high-pressure salesmanship through screen, radio, press, church and school all of which are controlled by the capitalist class and left un-touched by the program of the pacifists. We observe a sad tendency for most of today's pacifist objectors to become tomorrow's best patriots. By ignoring the real causes of war, and diverting popular attention from really effective means of combating it, pacifism is as dangerous as it is futile. It performs a valuable service to those who wish to keep the people ignorant.

Similar arguments hold against the isolationists who wish to keep Canada Out of War. They fail to recognize how inextricably a part we are of world economy, incapable of living to ourselves and of remaining unaffected by trends and events abroad. When war breaks out Canada cannot remain aloof any more than she did in the last war. The pressure of several billion dollars worth of British and American capital invested here will see to that, not to mention native enterprise. More appeals to the government to stay out of war is about as effective as an appeal to the self-restraint of a crazed drug addict. Capitalism, likewise, cannot help itself. Equally with the pacifists, the isolationists serve the war-makers by concealing the true state of affairs and by teaching the people to rely on the government rather than on their own organization and strength.

While we socialists are unalterably opposed to all wars of imperialism, democratic or fascist, at the same time we are duty bound to materially support all struggle and wars of a progressive character, e.g., the present war of Chinese independence against Japanese imperialism and the war against Franco, however critical our socialist approach must be to the shortcomings and mistakes of their leadership. Independent class struggle action is a tremendous step forward to the real struggle against war, which can only be the overthrow of the system which breeds it. The C.C.F. must organize and support such action with all sections of the labor movement. In the present period the following slogans can act as a rallying cry for all the genuine opponents of war:



NOT A CENT FOR WAR -- USE THE CANADIAN WAR BUDGET FOR SOCIAL SERVICES

STRIKE TO STOP SHIPMENTS TO JAPAN

WORKERS BOYCOTT OF JAPANESE GOODS

ARMS AND MUNITIONS FOR CHINA

DOWN WITH IMPERIALISM - WHETHER DEMOCRATIC OR FASCIST

COLLECTIVE SECURITY MEANS COLLECTIVE WAR

FIGHT CHECKS ON CIVIL LIBERTIES

MEET THE FASCIST MOVEMENT WITH WORKERS DEFENCE ORGANIZATIONS

WORKERS! FARMERS! RELY ON YOUR INDEPENDENT CLASS ORGANIZATIONS

NO COLLABORATION WITH THE CAPITALISTS AND THEIR GOVERNMENT

THE MAIN ENEMY IS IN YOUR OWN COUNTRY

**Issued by Socialist Policy Group --◆April 15, 1938**

**Chairman; Jas. Gill, 305 High Park Ave., Toronto; Junc. 1946.\***

**Secretary: David Easton, 468 Markham St., Toronto; Lom. 2448.\***

**(FOR C.C.F. MEMBERS ONLY)**



RESOLUTION OF THE ALL-AMERICAN AND PACIFIC PRE-CONFERENCE (APRIL-MAY, 1938)  
CONCERNING THE WORK OF THE CANADIAN SECTION OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

1. The All-American and Pacific Pre-Conference, having heard the report of the Canadian delegates, welcomes the successful fusion of the majority comrades with the active nucleus of the minority, on the basis of the program of action agreed upon during the Chicago Convention.

2. The Pre-Conference endorses the action taken by the Canadian comrades in forming an open Socialist Policy Group in the CCF on the basis of a declaration on the war question.

3. The Pre-Conference, after discussion with the Canadian delegates, suggests the following plan of action for the immediate future:

(a) The Canadian comrades should continue to concentrate their main efforts on work within the CCF, with a view to climaxing their activities by a complete programmatic and political fight at or around the national Fall convention of the CCF, ~~with a perspective of completing the experience within this declining reformist organization and re-establishing the Canadian section of the Fourth International.~~ *were these lines removed?*

The declining membership and activity of the CCF has increased the specific weight of the petty bourgeois elements and the corresponding entrenchment of a right-wing bureaucracy. While our general line is oriented toward an early establishment of an independent Canadian section of the Fourth International, this does not preclude the possibility of continued concerted work in the CCF in provinces where the objective conditions are more favorable than in Ontario.

(b) The comrades should endeavor to strengthen further our own fraction within the CCF and the Group by systematic education and concerted and disciplined action in every field of their activity. The Socialist Policy Group will undoubtedly attract some confused centrist elements who, in a later stage, especially at the moment of split, may oppose our program. Consequently it is of great importance to combine educative work upon our new recruits with revolutionary vigilance against centrism.

(c) The comrades should make immediate attempts to extend the Socialist Policy Group into a national tendency within the CCF, by establishing the cooperation of our comrades in Vancouver, Winnipeg, and elsewhere.

(d) The comrades should elaborate the political documents of the SPG so as to create a thorough line of demarcation between the reformists, the centrists and themselves on every important national and international problem.

(e) The Conference expresses the firm belief that this activity should be expressed through a regular mimeographed or printed organ (appearing weekly or fortnightly) rather than through casual bulletins. A name should be chosen for the organ which can also be used later for the organ of an independent organization, so as to continue the tradition of our revolutionary fight within the CCF. The Vancouver comrades should be invited to collaborate in the creation of such an organ.

(f) In view of a possible premature organizational attack by the CCF bureaucracy, our comrades should be ready to answer every organizational maneuver by energetic politicizing of the issues in order that a full principled record of our position may be established. The experience of our French, Belgian and American comrades can be studied in this connection.



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4. It is most likely that the re-establishment of our comrades in an independent organization will not occur with sufficient forces to make possible the immediate creation of a party, but rather only a broadened propaganda group. Preparatory steps for the new activity of this group should be taken even now.

(a) By systematizing and extending our ~~XXXX~~ trade union work, to be carried out with firm democratic centralism and comradely collaboration between the executive and the trade-union activists.

(b) In view of the existing ferment within the Stalinist ranks, efforts should be made to establish contacts within their organization for the purposes of information and, if possible, organizational fraction work. The new organ of the SPG should carry on a steady and vigorous campaign against Stalinism both as it appears within the CCF and without. The possibilities of public meetings against the Stalinists should also be considered, in exploiting the "democracy" of the CCF constitution to its absolute limits.

(c) Concerning the Field group, the Pre-Conference considers that any political negotiations with this group should take place only on the basis of an uncompromising stand on the principles and platform of the Fourth International. While our political discussions with CCF members need be conducted in a spirit of patient education, the purpose of any action concerning the fossilized sectarian Field group should be that of splitting away progressive elements and rendering the group powerless. The progress of our work within the CCF, and the subsequent re-establishment of ~~the~~ an independent group, together with the formal foundation of the Fourth International at the coming European conference, will establish our comrades on firm ground for gaining any progressive elements in the Field group through an energetic political attack against their sterility and international isolation. While the necessity of occasional united front action is not precluded, it should not be extended to a degree where the leadership of this stagnating group gains fictitious prestige.

5. Concerning the possible development of the Labor Relations Association, the Pre-Conference suggests that further information be prepared and that discussions be held in Canada as well as in New York, so that a definite position may be taken. The same procedure should be followed in estimating the possibilities of applying to Canadian conditions a program of action arising out of the international thesis (Death Agonies of Capitalism) adopted by the American section at its last (April) National Committee plenum.



## A PROGRAM FOR THE SOCIALIST POLICY GROUP. - A STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES

1. Canadian capitalism is caught up in the ebb tide of world capitalism. Its newness, the fact that Canada has not been exploited to the full as have the older capitalist countries of Europe, cannot save it from the effects of world capitalist crisis which, as it grows deeper, plunges the masses of the people into the direst poverty, batons them with the club of dictatorship and flings them into the horrors of war.
2. The crisis of 1929 threw more than one quarter of Canadian wage earners on the relief rolls. Starvation rations were the lot of thousands upon thousands of Canadian workers. But the crises of the future will be more vicious and deadly in the effect than the last, and capitalism ~~will be~~ unable to grant reforms to remedy the condition of the masses or even to alleviate the plight of the unemployed. Canada ~~has~~ already experiencing a decline in its economy - it is already entering another crisis although for many thousands the 1929-33 depression is still not yet finished.
3. The inability of Canadian capitalism to grant concessions to the workers in the form of better living conditions and adequate relief for the unemployed is reflected in the tendencies in Canadian governments. Unable to cope with the effects of the ~~new~~ new depression, which is not yet felt to the full, the only recourse left to capitalist government is the road of repression. Duplessis in Quebec, with the Padlock Law and open support of the fascist Arcand; Hepburn in Ontario with his vicious treatment of the Oshawa strike last year and the Lakeview relief strike this year; Aberhart who, while spouting demagogic promises, endeavors to suppress the most elementary democratic rights; all these are indications that Canadian capitalism will place the burden of capitalist decline on the backs of the masses.
4. Alongside this increased tendency towards repression in Canadian "democracy" is arising the menace of fascist organization. The Arcand organization, while not yet sufficiently powerful to be a factor in Canadian politics, is the seed from which a full fledged Canadian fascism may spring.
5. Most menacing of immediate prospects is the possibility of a new world war in the ~~immediate future~~ very near future. Into the horrors of this new war Canada, subject to pressure both from Great Britain and the United States as well as possessing a capitalist class of its own with an imperialist axe to grind, cannot avoid being drawn unless the masses of workers and farmers take decisive action.
6. The condition of Canadian, as of world capitalism calls for a bold socialist policy. The only reply to the challenge of the capitalist class in its efforts to hold onto what it has is the rallying of the masses around a socialist program. Not a program of socialism for the indefinite future but a program of socialist demands for immediate application. The CCF must ~~renew~~ arm itself to meet the needs of the present period with a bold program of working class demands. The weakness of its ~~present~~ present policy was clearly reflected in the last provincial election in Ontario. Its program was a rehash of vague demands which did not touch the vital issues facing the workers. It had no attractive power. Hepburn, the demagogic tool of the mining and power interests, once more swept the field. The CCF offered nothing as an alternative to the policy of Hepburn.
7. The Socialist Policy Group proposes that the CCF adopt a program of Socialist demands and poses the following as the most immediately necessary:
  - A). Under the British North America Act the Privy Council has the power to veto Canadian legislation and to pass judgement on the decisions of the Canadian courts. It has consistently, in recent years, played the Provincial governments against the Federal government, making it possible for the Dominion govt. to pass the buck onto the provincial governments as an excuse for not putting into effect progressive social legislation (unemployment insurance, etc.). The power of the Privy Council must be removed; government of this country must be exercised within this country and not from abroad. A first socialist demand is:



## Abolition of the Power of Veto by the Privy Council!

B). The first demand is only a beginning. Complete self-government means nothing by itself. The masses of the Canadian workers and farmers must take their destiny into their own hands. They must be taught to administer the affairs of this country - economic as well as political - in the interests of the Canadian masses. Rule from St. James St. by the "50 Big Shots" must be abolished. Capitalism cannot give the masses a decent livelihood - the masses must assume control and exercise it in their own interests. Along this road the CCF must take two immediate demands:

### 1. ~~In preparation for the existing new beginning in Canadian economy~~

In order to protect and entrench itself in Canadian economy, the CPR is propping the unification of the two railroad systems - Canadian National and Canadian Pacific. The unification proposed by the CPR ~~is~~ is aimed directly at the railroad worker at whose expense the unification economies will be effected. Against the capitalist slogan of unification must be posed the slogan of !

#### A UNIFIED RAILROAD SYSTEM UNDER WORKERS' CONTROL!

This means: a) expropriation without indemnification to the CPR stockholders or the CNR bondholders.

Through subsidies, grants of land (some of which have been sold for millions of dollars) and so on, the CPR has reaped a tremendous harvest in the past. The reaping of this harvest has been at the expense of the Canadian worker and farmer. Indemnification of the CPR stockholders for capital wrung out of the pockets of the Canadian masses is unthinkable. Indemnification means the perpetuation of the burden of supplying profits to landgrabbers and parasites.

b) Control by committees of the railroad workers will ensure freedom from utilization of the railroads (via the capitalist state) in the interests of the "50 Big Shots". How this can be effected in a "nationalized" industry has been amply demonstrated in the evidence submitted to the enquiry into the Ontario Hydro's contracts with the Quebec power companies. It will ensure the railroad worker against the effecting of amalgamation economies at his expense.

c) Workers control can be used as a means of aid to the Canadian farmer who has been one of the victims of extortion by the railroads through high freight rates. The rich capitalist corporations can be made to pay the shot for a change while the farmer will get the preference.

2. The Hydro Enquiry has heard evidence pointing to the fact that although in theory the Ontario Hydro System is a publicly owned institution, it has been used deliberately in the interests of the power barons of St. James St.. A second immediate demand must be:

#### Workers Control of the Power industry!

the electrical power systems of every province to be made into one system under the control of workers' committees. Put an end to the milking of Canadian economy by the power barons!

C) The question of unemployment is becoming a more burning issue with every passing day. A permanent army of unemployed, of increasing proportions, has been established. Technological improvements plus decreased production as an effect of capitalist decline have thrown thousands on thousands out of employment while many more, the youth predominating, are leaving the impoverished farming districts of the ~~West~~ Prairie Provinces for the industrial cities of British Columbia and the East and are swelling the ranks of the unemployed. Unorganized, the unemployed cannot fight for adequate relief or fight back against the police repression to which they are subjected each time they attempt to obtain better conditions. The CCF must strenuously work for the organization of the unemployed and join them in the fight for:

Adequate relief administered by the Federal government!

An extensive program of public works at trade union rates of wages!

D) CCF Trade Union policy.



E) The menace of fascism. Unless the Canadian worker is to be ground under the iron heel of fascism he must resist every attempt on the part of the Canadian capitalist class to promote the organization of fascist bands after the manner of the Arcand group which, from Quebec, is now endeavoring to establish itself in Ontario. The prime requisite of a worker's organization is that it show itself capable, through its program and its policy and in action, of being capable of solving the problems that face the Canadian worker and farmer. This will snatch from the influence of fascist demagoguery those elements who turn to fascism as a way out of the miseries they suffer under capitalist "democracy". But this alone is not enough. Subsidized by rich capitalists a fascist minority may succeed in seizing power by force of arms unless ~~external vigilance~~ constant vigilance is observed by the working class organizations, exposing the manoeuvres of the fascists at every turn and preparing to meet them with their own methods. The CCF must take the initiative in creating

#### Workers' Defense Corps

drilled and trained to meet the fascist bands on their own ground. To defend workers meetings against fascist thugs and to resist the attempts of the fascists to win support with their demagoguery.

F.) The war danger. Under the deceptive slogan of "defense of democracy" a new world conflict is in preparation. Against this preparation the CCF and the Canadian workers must conduct an intransigent fight. The entry of Canada into a world war will mean the slaughter of thousands of Canadians in the interests of the capitalist robbers of Canada as well as those of Great Britain and the United States. The slogans of "Neutrality" and "Keep Canada out of war", by themselves, are useless. So long as the decision for entry into a war rests with the capitalist government of Canada there can be no assurance that Canadian workers and farmers will not once more be sent to the slaughter. The decision must rest in the hands of the Canadian workers and farmers themselves, and so long as the war industries and the implements and organization for war remain in the hands of the capitalists and the capitalist state they cannot make the decision. While there exists a standing army under the control of the capitalist ~~state~~ class through its state the defense of Canadian soil against foreign aggression will mean nothing but the defense of the interests of Canadian capitalism. The CCF must advance and fight for the following slogans if it is to give the workers and farmers of this country real leadership in a real and not sham struggle against war:

- 1) Publication of all agreements and treaties with ~~the British Empire~~ Britain or with any other country.

In a recent speech Campbell McInnes made the statement that he had information as to the way in which Canada was to be drawn into world conflict but for certain reasons he could not make his information public. This is a disgraceful position for anyone who calls himself socialist to hold. The workers who will be asked (if they are given that privilege) to fight in the coming war must be apprised of the nature of the obligations entered into by the government. Their exposure is in the interests of the working masses.

- 2) Expropriation of the war industries (International Nickel, Canadian Industries Ltd, etc.) and their management under workers' control.  
The control of the Canadian war industries is a decisive factor in the conduct of war. While Leagues for Peace and Democracy are asking women to wear lisle hose and boycott Japanese silk, Canada is supplying Japan with 97% of the nickel which that country is at present importing.
- 3) No money or men for government war purposes. ~~All~~ Armament funds to go to a program of public works.
- 4) Put the defense of Canada into the hands of the workers and farmers. The workers and farmers to be armed for this purpose and training schools for officers (the students to be chosen by the trade unions and other workers organizations) established for training of military experts in the workers and farmers.



The N.C. submits the following statement for your signature in order to help clarify the situation in the Party and to help bring to an end the sharp factional atmosphere that has existed since the commencement of the discussion on entry into the CCF. The presentation of this statement has become necessary because the refusal of those who voted in the minority on the question of the CCF to accept nomination in the elections to the N.C. and the recent walkout from a party meeting give rise to doubts as to the intentions of some comrades of the party. Only a clear and unequivocal statement can dispel these doubts and lead to a solution of the difficulties within the Party.

#### Statement.

A. I agree to work loyally in the party for successful entry into the CCF and, if it is made possible, to work within the CCF in the best interests of the ideas represented by the organizations of the 4th. Int. in accordance with the decision on CCF entry made by the Party and will abide by decisions in this direction which may be made by this organization in the future.

B. I agree to accept any responsible position or task which the organization may decide to give me, unless satisfactory reasons are given, and to carry out any tasks with a view to making successful the line that the Party has adopted.



# Internationalism — Our Banner

By MAURICE SPECTOR  
Co-Editor, New Internationalist

fascism became more rapid and more powerful. Fascism is today on the offensive. The Munich pact signals the complete bankruptcy of the whole edifice of collective

In Two Sections

Section 1

## Socialist Appeal

Official Weekly Organ of the Socialist Workers Party, Section of the Fourth International

See Section 2  
for Documents of  
World Congress

VOL. II—No. 46

Saturday, October 22, 1938

375

Five Cents per Copy

# WORLD CONGRESS FOUNDS FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

## Congress Climaxes 15 Years' Struggle

Fourth International Emerges From Fight  
Against Degeneration in the  
Third International

By MAX SHACHTMAN

Just as the main body of the Communist International came out of the Second International, so the roots of the Fourth International are to be traced to the beginnings of the crisis in the Third.

Fifteen years have elapsed since the movement now organized under the banner of the Fourth International first took shape. It arose in the form of the Opposition in the Russian Communist Party, variously called the "Moscow" or "1923" or "Trotskyist" Opposition. Uniting the best elements of the Old Guard and of the youth of the Party, and led by Leon Trotsky, it was the first to sound the alarm against the growing menace of degeneration in the ruling party and the revolution itself.

Against Bureaucratic

It also solidified itself substantially with the Russian Opposition, and met the usual fate at the hands of the Kremlin machine. Virtually the entire party leadership in Belgium was arbitrarily ousted for the same reason. The same occurred in varying degrees in all the parties of the International.

Subsequent Struggles

In the course of the inner struggle which followed in the International, centering mainly around the question of the capitulation of the Stalinists to the British Labor Bureaucracy, culminating in the fiasco of the 1928 General Strike and the notorious Anglo-Russian Trade Union Unity Committee of the Chinese Revolution, in which Stalin reduced the communist, the working class and peasant movements to so many scries of the



## Thirty Delegates From Eleven Countries Raise New Banner

New International Created in Midst of European War  
Crisis Gives Voice to Revolutionary  
Opposition to Imperialist War

### YOUTH INTERNATIONAL FORMED

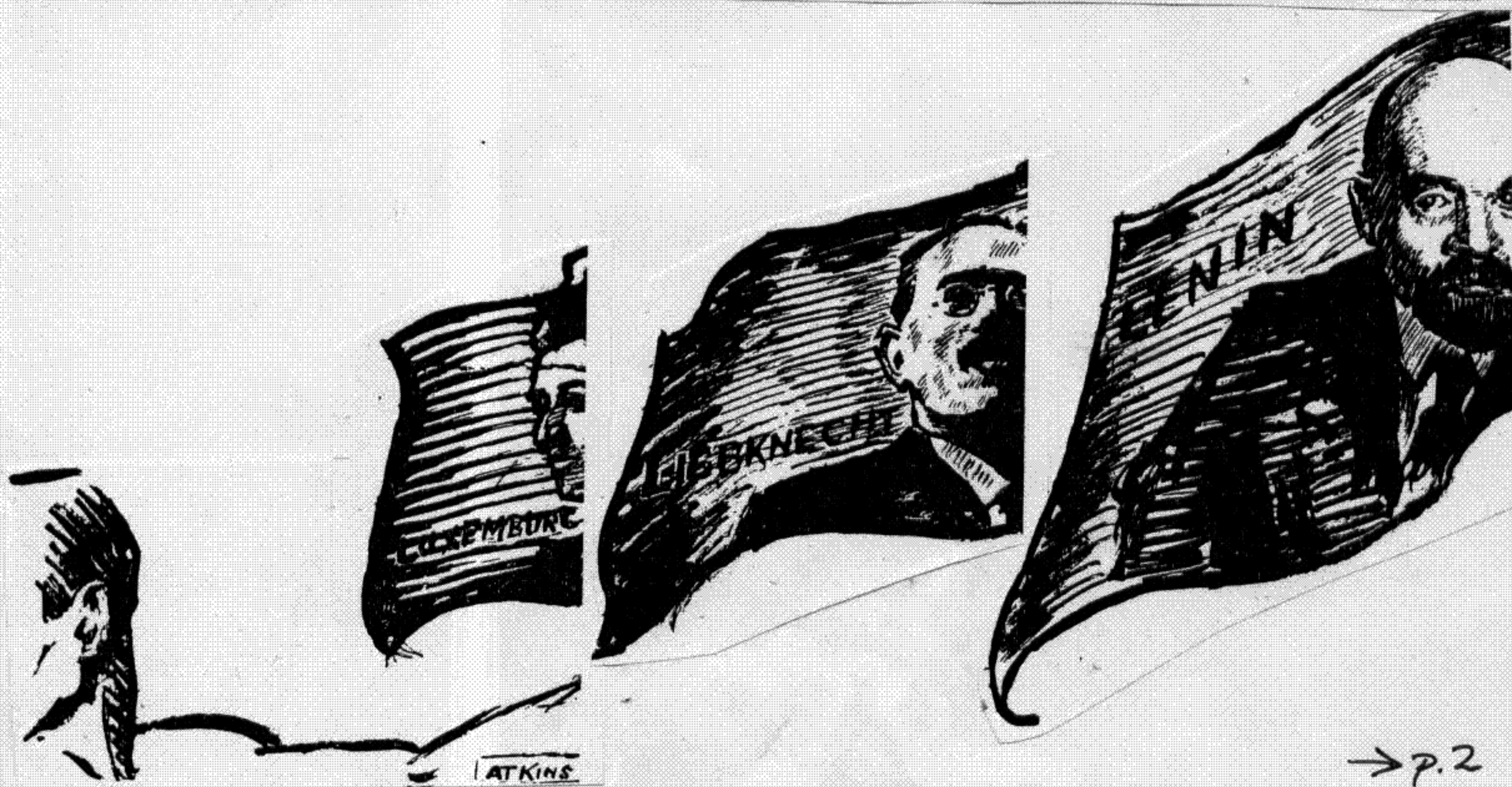
The Fourth International has been founded.

Meeting in the midst of the threatening war crisis in Europe, 30 delegates from eleven countries proclaimed the new World Party of the Socialist Revolution. A Youth International was simultaneously created.

The delegates represented organizations in the United States, France, Great Britain, Germany, the Soviet Union, Italy, Latin America, Poland, Belgium, Holland, and Greece.

Unable to send delegates by cause of conditions of distance, illegality, and other adverse factors, were organizations affiliated to the Fourth International in Spain, Czechoslovakia, Austria, Indo-China, China, French Morocco, the Union of South Africa, Canada, a number of Latin American countries, Australia, New Zealand, Denmark, Norway, Lithuania, Palestine, Rumania, and several other countries. These organizations had already signified in advance their adherence to the new banner.

The world congress that raised the new internationalist banner met in strictest



→ p. 2



# Internationalism — Our Banner

By MAURICE SPECTOR  
Co-Editor, *New International*

If there was one pillar of the early Comintern that seemed more unshakable than Gibraltar, it was its intransigent internationalism, its basic policy of world revolution. The Communist International was conceived during the world war in the course of the revolutionary struggle against social patriotism.

The collapse of the Second International was due to its opportunistic adaptation to the capitalist legality of the national state. To pillory the social patriotism of the Social Democracy, to attack its policy of coalition government, to denounce its fetishistic support of bourgeois democracy, its voting of military credits, all this was part of everyday communist agitation and propaganda. Whenever the international situation sharpened, the air resounded with Comintern pledges to work for the transformation of any imperialist war into a civil war.

## Lenin's Teachings

Every communist knew that Lenin had drawn two decisive conclusions from the law of the irregularity of capitalist political and economic development: (1) that, contrary to the opinion of Kautsky, it was possible to begin the revolution in a single country, without waiting for the rest of the world, but (2) that it was impossible for a single country to achieve the victory of socialism without the advance of the frontiers of the revolution in the industrial West. There was no ambiguity about this.

Again and again he repeated that the existence of the Soviet republic alongside the imperialist states was in the long run impossible. One or the other would triumph. The big historical problem of the October revolution as he saw it, and as the entire Comintern appeared to agree, lay in resolving the international problem by means of stimulating and organizing the world revolution.

So long as the post-Leninist struggle inside the Russian Communist party proceeded on such apparently separate questions, as workers democracy, the lessons of the German communist failure of 1923, the experiences of the

Anglo-Russian committee, and economic planning, many communists of the West, increasingly restive over the turn of events and the character of the Russian discussions, were still uncertain. In many cases it still seemed possible to reconcile the conflicting views within the framework of the same party and International. Loyalty to the Communist International permeated such militants to the core, and decisions would involve a rupture with what they had been accustomed to regard as "the General Staff of the World Revolution" were not taken lightly.

## The Final Straw

What shook their faith in the post-Leninist Moscow leadership to the point where "loyal" acceptance of the majority thesis was no longer possible, was the final emergence of the Stalinist theory of "socialism in one country." The stand that the Russian Opposition made against this revision of Leninism proved to be a stand against the Stalinist counter-revolution. There were friends of the Opposition who thought that Trotsky was unduly magnifying the issue and allowing himself to be outsmarted. The Brandler-Thalheimer group attempted to minimize the issue as academic. Even close sympathizers of Trotsky, reading his Critique of the Draft Program of the Comintern during the Sixth Congress (1928) wondered if its author was not anticipating too much and too readily.

Experience itself has established that the official adoption of the theory of socialism in a single country, a product of the ebb of the revolution in Europe, and the defeats administered to the working class, has become the fully rounded out formula of Stalinist social-patriotism and the degeneration of the Comintern.

## Renunciation of Revolution

The tactics of the Leninist Comintern in a period of capitalist stabilization were necessarily different than in a period of stormy assault on the capitalist fortress during a revolutionary crisis. But the policy of Stalinist national socialism involved a renunciation of the proletarian revolution itself. Since the adoption of that policy the consequences for both the Soviet Union and

the international proletariat have been increasingly tragic. What happened, objectively speaking, is that Stalin joined Hitler in crushing out the revolutionary spirit of the working class vanguard. Even their methods became indistinguishable.

With every retreat from the policy of world revolution, with every new improvisation of popular frontism, the advance of

fascism became more rapid and more powerful. Fascism is today on the offensive. The Munich pact signals the complete bankruptcy of the whole edifice of collective security. The Popular Front is a shambles.

The Stalinists sold out the interests of the French working class for the sake of "the defense of the Soviet Union." Their "realism" has left the Soviet Union in a position of the greatest isolation. After absorbing Czechoslovakia, as he had absorbed Germany before that, thanks to the cowardly passivity of the Comintern, Hitler is now proceeding with plans for the political and economic hegemony of Europe and the future partition of the Soviet Union.

## There Is No Substitute

It has been proved that the revolutionary aid of the Western workers cannot be replaced by imperialist alliances without catastrophic results for the October revolution. The Permanent Revolution, the special object of Stalinist hatred, has been replaced by permanent executions. National socialism in Russia has destroyed the soviet super-structure, replacing it with a totalitarianism as complete as Hitler's. The "socialist accumulation" of the five-year plans under Stalin rivaled the infamies of early capitalist accumulation.

Twenty years after the October revolution and the "complete victory of socialism," Denny of the New York Times reports that the coming winter in the U.S.S.R. is expected to be one of the hardest. The old familiar queues stretch for blocks. Twenty years after, the masses still wait for a pair of boots, an overcoat, a dress, a bottle of milk, a pound of butter.

## Undermine the Only Force

The one force that could solve the Soviet Union's "international problem" was the working class and this is the force that the Soviet Union has consistently undermined. The policy of Soviet national socialism has been to use the workers abroad merely as diplomatic cannon fodder. Armaments are greater than ever, the power of Hitlerism has expanded, and the workers have been filled with the virus of social patriotism.

The masses deep down are against imperialist war. They are ready to struggle for peace. The task is to show them that peace is attainable only by a struggle for power. But the Stalinist parties join with the most extreme reactionaries and nationalists in their agitation and incitement for war.

The Stalinists, like Browder in the United States, no longer even talk of the "defense of the Soviet Union." They proclaim their readiness to go to the defence of their own capitalist "fatherlands." They urge their own capitalist classes to protect and further their investments in colonies and markets abroad, so that the "democracies" can checkmate the fascists in South America or China!

The sole repository of the revolutionary internationalism of the early Comintern is now the Fourth International. The small groups of the new International in all countries have courageously struggled against the current of social-patriotism and uncompromisingly exposed the sources of Stalinist corruption. The Fourth International can have no illusions that it has the present strength to deter the imperialists in their war-provocations, or save the U.S.S.R. from inner degeneration or outside attack. This strength must come from the masses and the successful penetration of the masses by the revolutionary Marxists.

From:  
*LIFE Magazine*



Trotsky officially founds his own Fourth International in September 1938 in competition with Stalin's potent Third and Socialists' feeble Second.



# An Open Letter

## TO THE MEMBERS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

We address ourselves to those workers and militants within the ranks of the Communist Party who in their own minds and hearts still preserve the aim and ideal of the workers' revolution, who remain within the Communist Party because they believe that by doing so they are serving the cause of socialism.

We know that there are such members of the Communist Party. We know that they have, in reality, nothing whatever in common with the cynical, depraved, corrupt bureaucrats who, at the bidding of the Kremlin, direct the Party, nor with the horde of petty bourgeois riff-raff which has swarmed into the party during the past two years of Popular Frontism.

To these workers and militants, we say:

*Comrades, what is your answer to the Trial of the 21?*

By this trial, Stalin has now wiped out the last of Lenin's intimate colleagues. Through the trials and the purges, he has executed virtually the entire membership of Lenin's Central Committee, of the Central Committee which led the October Revolution.

You do not have to take our word for this. The membership of the Central Committee, the names of the close associates of Lenin, are a matter of public historical record. You can check up easily for yourselves.

### Do You Believe In The October Revolution?

In 1917 and 1918 the imperialists and reactionaries everywhere told us that the Russian Revolution was made by a gang of cut-throats, bandits, spies, murderers.

Do you believe this? Or do you believe with us that the Russian Revolution was the greatest and most magnificent event in the entire history of mankind?

Today Stalin tells you exactly the same story that the imperialists and reactionaries told us in 1917 and 1918. If you believe Stalin now, then you must believe that the imperialists and reactionaries were right to begin with.

Vyshinsky states that Yagoda was a poisoner, a brutal sadist, a liar, a depraved and degenerate tyrant.

This is true.

*But for a decade Yagoda was Stalin's right-hand man, acting directly under Stalin's orders. Look back through the official press and you will find that this is clearly and unquestionably true.*

*Yagoda prepared and managed the Trial of Zinoviev-Kamenev. According to Vyshinsky himself, therefore, the Trial of Zinoviev-Kamenev was prepared and managed by a poisoner, sadist, liar, and tyrant.*

### Is This Socialism?

Let us suppose that the trials are true. Stalin tells you that socialism has irrevocably triumphed within the Soviet Union. What kind of "socialism" is it, then, that turns all of its founders and builders into mad dogs, that makes them prefer to work for the blackest fascism rather than for the "socialist" regime? What kind of man, then, must Stalin be if everyone who works for him very soon develops such a hatred that he spends all his time plotting to kill him?

But, of course, the trials are not true. *You yourselves*

*know in your hearts that they are not true, that they are a gigantic frame-up.*

Do you really believe that the cause of socialism can be served by frame-ups, by lies, by assassinations?

*Why then are you silent?*

Why not stand up in your Party units and demand answers to the questions which in your own minds shout for replies? Why not read the books, histories, pamphlets, newspapers which can put the facts about the Russian Revolution into your possession? Why not discuss, argue, compare? You know from Marx that action which is blind is a thousand times useless for the working class.

### Truth Alone Serves Our Cause

*Are you afraid of the truth? If you are afraid of the truth, how, then, will you have strength to face the revolution?*

But there is no reason to fear the truth. Illusions, shams, treacheries—these are shattered and smashed by the truth. But our great movement, the movement for the emancipation of humanity, is nourished and grows strong by the truth and by the truth only.

You must act, comrades, and act quickly. You read the general press. You will see that no one believes this new trial. You will see also, however, that they are using this new trial to launch a vast campaign against the socialist ideal itself. The trial proves, they say, "the intellectual and moral bankruptcy of socialism." And their conclusion is: to submit once more and forever to the tyranny of capitalism.

*By your silence you aid this reactionary campaign, which threatens to destroy the entire Marxist movement.*

### Stalinism, Not Socialism, Is Bankrupt

This campaign is a lie from start to finish. The trials in no slightest degree involve the ideal of socialism. *The trials are the direct contradiction of socialism.* What they prove utterly and completely is the final bankruptcy of *Stalinism*; what they prove for all time is that Stalinism and everything it represents is the destroyer, not the continuator, of the revolution.

This is the only possible answer that can be given to the campaign of reaction. No other answer can stand up under the attack, no other answer can vindicate the ideal of socialism.

And if you do not give that answer, you yourselves will be compelled to abandon your ideal. You will slip down once more into the ranks of the passive, broken slaves of imperialism.

*Do not abandon your ideal! Join with us to defend it against all of its enemies. Only that ideal, the ideal of the classless socialist society, has hope or promise for men.*

You will find that ideal guarded untarnished within the growing regiments of the Fourth International. In the face of the nightmare trial, in the face of the yawning crisis, the march of totalitarian reaction, the black clouds of the approaching war, let us carry forward our ideal, to a sure and lasting triumph!



# Lenin's General Staff of 1917

STALIN, THE EXECUTIONER, ALONE REMAINS



RYKOV  
Shot



BUKHARIN  
Shot



SVERDLOV  
Dead



STALIN  
Survivor



ZINOVIEV  
Shot



KAMENEV  
Shot



TROTSKY  
In Exile



LENIN  
Dead



KOLLONTAI  
Missing?



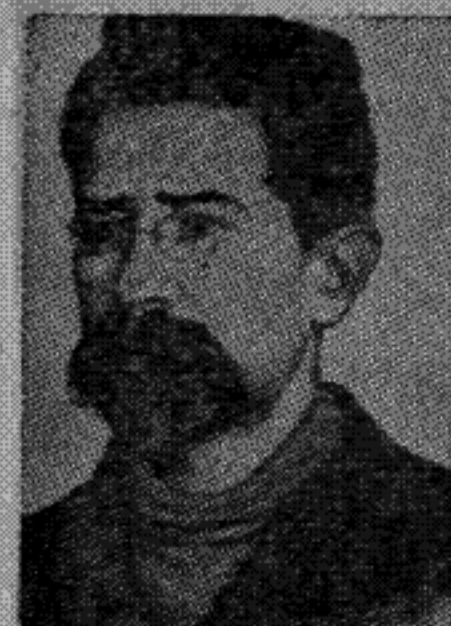
URITSKY  
Dead



KRESTINSKY  
Shot



SMILGA  
Shot



NOGIN  
Dead



DZERZHINSKY  
Dead



BUBNOV  
Disappeared



SOKOLNIKOV  
In Prison



LOMOV  
?



SHOMYAN  
Dead



BERZIN  
?



MURANOV  
Disappeared



ARTEM  
Dead



STASSOVA  
Disappeared



MILIUTIN  
Missing



JOFFE  
Suicide

The Central Committee of The Bolshevik Party in 1917





## **Statement of the National Committee (December 16, 1938)**

*(author likely Robertson –Ed.)*

Our experiences within the C.C.F. have drawn to a close and the foundation of the Socialist Workers League is on the agenda. The character of the Party remains the same as the former Workers Party. We are essentially a small propaganda group prepared to send out the call of revolutionary socialism to the more advanced workers.

Insofar as the more advanced layers are to be found within the Communist Party, the CCF and their periphery organizations, much of our activities must be directed towards these parties. An important task will consist in the establishment on a sound basis of fractions in these organizations as preparation for the canalization of internal discontent that will result from the next upsurge of the masses in Canada or abroad.

But if our forces permit we must enter upon concerted drives of short duration to penetrate the specific factory areas with our literature in the form of pamphlets, leaflets and newspapers. To this extent at least we will be able to turn our faces to the masses and gather into our ranks either as members or sympathizers, elements untainted by the degeneration by Stalinism or by the sterile reformism of the CCF to all workers alike we must make our appeal through well-planned mass meetings and weekly forums.

Besides this generalized aim of the SWL we must set for ourselves bold objectives for the coming years and because of the imminence of war every muscle must be strained in the next six months to reap the harvest of our united efforts. Our objectives for 1939 must be 1) to double our membership; once this task is accomplished the SWL will be well on the way to creating a framework for a national organization; 2) to establish headquarters. A headquarters, as its name implies, with the head of the Party, the organizing centre for all activity; 3) to establish a printed organ. This is by far the most urgent and immediate job that confronts us. A party without an organ is a party without a voice. We must at once engage upon a vigorous campaign to raise sufficient funds to set up a monthly organ on a sound financial basis and when the (right) conditions warrant it, our paper must appear twice a month. (...) A newspaper not only carries our program to the workers and supplies a basis of our activity, but also educates our own membership through the application of our revolutionary principles to concrete situations on the Canadian and international scene; 4) to acquire a paid organizer. The full fruits of any work we carry on can be harvested on through the hands of a paid organizer; 5) to organize a youth section. We must gear ourselves to the increased tempo of international events. The spring or at most the fall, will see a new war crisis and it would be a betrayal of the Canadian working class if, as small as we are, we did not make every sacrifice financial and physical, to prepare ourselves for the coming catastrophe. We have a program of transitional demands which we can carry to the Canadian workers if we have the will; we must find (champion) the will.

A last prerequisite is necessary for the proper functioning of the new party. While functioning as the SPG within the CCF, the very nature of our task within this loosely discipline party made the enforcement of strict discipline difficult and at times impossible. As an independent party the usual Leninist rules of democratic centralism must be impressed on our membership. While we have complete freedom of discussion at the time and places appointed by the membership, there must be at all times unquestioned discipline in action. Those who by inactivity or persistent refusal fail to accept tasks assigned to them in the ordinary course of party work can find no place in the revolutionary organization. This can not be too strongly emphasized.

**FORWARD TO THE FOUNDATION OF THE NEW PARTY!  
FORWARD TO THE PARTY PAPER!**



## Evaluation of C.C.F. entry Feb. 16, 1939

*(Unsigned; likely Earle Birney (Robertson) active in setting up the Socialist Policy Group into the CCF— Jack MacDonald in semi-retirement — Spector in New York)*

Due to pressure of other practical work – the press campaign for the *Socialist Action*, the organization of an anti-Fascist united front, study classes, etc., the P.C. has been able to give little time to a lengthy evaluation of the entry. It believes that the question merits only brief consideration; however, as a long drawn out rehashing of old dead issues, and revived mutual recriminations between those for and against entry would be not only academic and fruitless, but actually harmful to the conduct of our political work. An evaluation is useful only if it reviews the facts of the entry, its weaknesses and actual results, in order to clarify our present position and guide us in our future course.

The W.P. of C. dissolved itself as an independent organization in Ontario, May 1937. The majority of its members entered the C.C.F. as individuals after negotiations with John Mitchell had gained assurance that our applications would be accepted and that revolutionaries had a place in the C.C.F., as long as they abided by its program and discipline. This maneuver was strictly tactical and in line with the international policy of our movement at that time to strengthen itself by accelerating and capturing the leftward trend within the social democracy.

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Handicapped in these ways, we were unable to overcome the added handicaps of the predominantly middle class composition of the C.C.F. in Ontario and Toronto, and the strong grip of the right wing bureaucracy on the organization. In the pre-convention discussion of the winter 1937-38, we were able to send forward several progressive resolutions passed by a few of the Toronto clubs in which we were influential. The formation of the S.P.G. as the open left wing of the C.C.F. and the publication of the special war bulletin of *Socialist Action* for the convention marked the climax of the entry.



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This resulted from a low integration, itself the direct result of the failure of minority comrades to co-operate and failure of the fusion resulting from the American Chicago convention.

In pointing out that the entry did not fulfil our hopes, it is not fair however to conclude that it was unjustified. We are now launched once more on an independent existence, and it is fruitless at this point to debate whether it was right or wrong. It cannot be denied though, that our efforts would have been more productive, if, once having taken the decision, our whole membership had been disciplined, and entered as a united body.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE  
S.W.L. of Canada  
Feb. 16, 1939.

*(Some pertinent movement pre-war and wartime dates – ed.)*

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Dec. 16. 1938: Statement of the N.C. announces the foundation of the Socialist Workers League “as being on the agenda – Forward to the New party, Forward to the Party paper!”

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September 1939: The 4<sup>th</sup> edition of the printed *Socialist Action* was closed down by War Measures Act at the outbreak of war. After the resignation and departure from the movement of its editor, *SA* continued publication during the war as a mimeographed bulletin on a sporadic basis until 1942.



1945: the movement regrouped, holding a conference in Montreal in 1944 and founding the R.W.P. before the end of the war in semi-clandestine conditions, and launching the printed monthly *Labor Challenge* in 1946.



National Status and Foreign Policy

Canada furnishes unique examples of uneven development. These are the results of its historical growth from a backward colony of French feudal commercialism which was conquered by British imperialism, and developed by it and by competing American Imperialism into a semi-independent State with an almost completely natural native capitalism. On the one hand most of its enormous area (Larger than that of the United States) is still either wild or settled under semi-frontier conditions, its population is comparatively tiny (11 million) and its chief export is an agricultural product, wheat, (68%) of total export value, 1936) On the other hand, 55% of the population are already urban (as compared to 12% in 1871) and there are nearly 2½ million wage and salary workers compared to 1 million engaged in agriculture. In one aspect, Canada is still the open battle-ground of American and British imperialisms; in another it appears as the domain of a highly trustified and wealthy national bourgeoisie, with ~~22%~~ 62% of the total capitalization of \$18 billion in its own control.

2. Its world status reflects this duality. Theoretically it is an independent dominion within the British Commonwealth, with its own seat at the League of Nations; yet much of its internal legislation is still subject to veto by the Privy Council at London, which has pursued, since the war, a policy of reducing the powers given the Dominion government (by the British North America Act of 1867) by favouring "state's rights" pleas of separate provinces within the Dominion.

3. Despite this, a strong national bourgeoisie has arisen out of the graft and spoliation of primary accumulations in the last two centuries, and has passed into an industrial-financial state by a long-run policy of protective tariffs against both American and British goods and, since the War, by independent diplomatic manoeuvres, as at the London Imperial Conference and the Washington Conference. At the latter Canada sided with the U.S. against the Anglo-Japanese alliance.

4. Nevertheless the foreign entanglements of London are still generally the entanglements of Canada; power to conscript a Canadian army for foreign wars still rests with a Council headed by a Governor-General "appointed by the King" (i.e. by the British Cabinet). At the same time because of Canada's obvious military dependence upon the United States, and because of the increasing pressure of American investments upon Canadian politics, the Canadian bourgeois governments since the war, both those of Bennett (Conservative) and McKenzie King (Liberal), have pursued a policy of compromise between the imperialist and the isolationist tendencies in Canadian capitalism. They have kept free of actual alliances for war, but have agreed to maintain naval and air bases for Britain in Canada, and have accepted with alacrity the increasingly large orders for airplanes and explosives being placed with Canadian industrialists, especially since the failure of the Swinton air-armament plan in England.

5. When Britain is actually at war again, Canadian capitalism will no doubt strive to remain neutral, as the least dangerous and most profitable position, especially if the United States is neutral; in such case Britain will probably not find it strategic to bring pressure upon Canada to enter the war as a combatant. If the United States is on the opposite side to Britain, pro-British capitalists and middle-



class patriots might wish to fight, but would be swamped not only by the power of the U.S. but by the pro-American sentiment of other sections of the Canadian bourgeoisie and of the farmers and workers.

## II Quebec and Minority Groupings

1. French Canada, concentrated largely in the province of Quebec, represents an additional argument for neutrality since it resisted conscription in the last war and threatens to secede in the event of another. The Canadiens (French-Canadians) comprise 28% of the total pop. of Canada, 85% of that of Quebec; special clauses in the British North America Act (under which the Dominion was created in 1867) guaranteed for Quebec the rights of separate (Catholic) schooling and equal status for the French language. This has fostered one of the most powerful units of the Roman Catholic church in the world, whose dignitaries openly control provincial politics. The result is a province where women are still unfrenchised, the closed shop is outlawed, communist meetings and press prohibited (Padlock Law), and where avowed ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ fascist organizations containing thousands of members drill openly. The majority of the Canadiens are small farmers and agricultural labourers, but increasing numbers of these are being transformed into industrial workers in large-scale factories as a result of expanding American pulp, power, and textile enterprises. The great majority of the Quebec proletarians are unorganized but, as pressure for unionization has grown, the Catholic hierarchy has been forced to foster a separate Catholic Syndicates to prevent a link-up with Canadian national or international unions. But the latter have made inroads despite this and lately the Catholic unions themselves conducted strikes, and have formed joint committees with the A.F. of L. to discuss governmental wage agreements and for local elections.

II. Meanwhile the Canadien/petit-bourgeoisie, alarmed by proletarian growth and militancy, and frustrated in their own capitalistic ambitions by the hegemony of Anglo-Saxon capital in Montreal, turn increasingly to the demagogy of the fascist Arcand and his National Christian Socialist Party. Arcand makes exaggerated claims to a following of 80,000; he is said to have links with the Kuhn Nazi groups in the U.S. and is certainly gaining strength. Arcand is smiled upon by the premier, Duplessis, who allows Arcand to edit the government's semi-official organ (L'Illustration Nouvelle). Duplessis' own party, the Union Nationale, elected on a reform ticket after a long and corrupt Liberal regime, plays a balancing role (by such acts as the Padlock Law) between the big-business interests of St. James Street (Canada's Wall St.) and the fascist anti-Semitic separatist support of Arcand.

3. The Canadien represents therefore a large concentrated grouping with separate historical traditions, culture, language and institutions (e.g. French civil law) and consequently with rights of cultural autonomy (e.g. maintenance of language) which must be conceded by the party of proletarian revolution. Nevertheless these racial distinctions are now preserved mainly artificially by the Catholic Church and the French section of the Quebec bourg. for reactionary purposes. Sixty-two percent of Quebec's population is now urban; this rapid proletarianizing of the habitant (Canadien farmer) is breaking down the language barrier and creating a prol. virtually indistinguishable from the rest of Canada and with the same economic future. The chief aim of rev's therefore should be the fusion of the prolet. into the organizations and struggles of the whole Can. and Amer. Proletariat.



4. There are some 50 other non-Anglo-Saxon groups in Canada, which, together with the French, make up half the total population and constitute the lowest paid section of the working-class; but these others are being rapidly assimilated and do not present any permanent language or racial problem. The one exception is the growing Oriental section of British Columbia (now nearing 7% of B.C.'s pop.) which has been systematically denied citizenship, even when born in Canada, and whose successes in agriculture and small trading have already been used by the Liberal Party as arguments for white-chauvinist policies on the west coast, just as Arcand makes scapegoats of the Jewish clothing workers in Montreal. Japanese and Chinese supply most of the labor in canning, fishing and market gardening, together with the few remnants of aboriginal Indians, and constitute the lowest paid section of the Canadian workers. The revolutionary party must work to secure their right of inclusion in Trade Union organizations, support their demands for citizenship. (timidly championed by the C.C.F.) and fight against all such race discrimination.

### III AGRICULTURE

1. The three central prairie provinces (Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta) produced, until 1932, an average yearly wheat crop of 400 million bushels. Even before the depression, however, the growing competition of Russia, China, and the Argentine had weakened the Canadian hold on the world market, and the position of the Canadian farmer was being steadily reduced by predatory control over freight rates and agricultural machinery prices by eastern trusts. Unscientific methods of dry farming and sporadic droughts weakened the soil in large areas, while the passing of the control of the cooperative Wheat Pool into the hands of big ~~xxxxxxx~~ banking interests further reduced the individual bargaining power of the farmer. With the collapse of the world market, agric. production went down 60% and the already large section of farmers in debt was increased to 80%, so that the mass of growers are now virtually tenant-farmers and laborers for the banks. Average farm income is now under \$500 a year and agric. wages \$300 ( \$820 in 1920).

2. The passing of pioneer prosperity days had already been reflected in dissident political movements of the farmers. Independent farmer governments came to power in the post-war days in the prairie provinces. Unable to buck the national banking and railroad systems these parties soon disintegrated. In Manitoba and Sask. The farmers returned to Liberal Governments, though with increasing and significant votes for the CCF (Socialist) Party. In Alberta, they fell victims to the Social Credit nonsense of the religious fakir, Abernart, and are now once more in process of disillusionment. In the meantime, the farmers plight worsens, whereas in 1937 there was a slight decrease in the total number on relief in Canada, the number of farmers on relief increased 37%.

3. In these circumstances the 60% farming pop. of the Prairie Provinces present a serious problem not only for the capitalists but for the proletarian revolution. Isolated from proletarian influence yet increasingly pauperized and disillusioned with capitalism, they offer a reservoir for fascism unless the rev. party can win their confidence and support.

4. Although the CCF originated in a federation of the Alberta Farmer and Labor Parties, it rapidly lost its farm support because it failed to link the farmers' fight against the banks and railroads with the general proletarian struggle for socialism. In Ontario, on the other hand, where there is a large class of semi-prosperous orchard farmers, the CCF



retained some farm elements by diluting its social-democratism and so losing proletarian confidence. The great majority of Ontario farmers remain political reactionaries, who form the basis of popular support for the reactionary Liberal premier Hepburn, and served as his strike-breakers in last year's Ontario strike-wave. Similarly in the eastern maritime Provinces (especially New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island) ~~Maritime~~ reactionary Liberal Governments receive the popular support of fruit-farmers in the passage of bills forbidding strikes (e.g. New Brunswick's recent "Industrial Relations Bill") directed against the growing class-consciousness of the maritime lumberworkers, miners, and fishers. In Nova Scotia, however, militant struggles of such workers have forced the passage of a "Little Wagner Act", legalizing the right of collective bargaining. Uncompromising struggle must be waged against the reactionary separatist character of the independent farmer parties with their demands for high tariffs against foreign foodstuffs and their support of anti-labor legislation. At the same time, progressive farmer demands, such as the present agitation for mortgage cancellations, federalized relief and crop insurance, should be supported by the proletarian party of revolution, as practical steps towards the inclusion of politicized farmers in the labor movement. Such support must be accompanied by careful propaganda directed to show the farmer that his economic miseries cannot be solved under capitalism and that his future lies in the hands of the proletarian revolution.

#### IV. Industry and Finance

1. Again reflecting features of uneven development Canada shows a co-existence of highly developed and rationalized industries in isolated centres with a continual primary development of mining and lumbering along an expanding frontier. Manufacturing is highly centralized and trustified, so that nearly 3 million of the 11 million pop. is concentrated in five cities, although these are dotted across a 3,000 mile line. Between 1923-30 the industrial prolet. increased at the rate of 20,000 a year, and half of this was taken up by plants employing over 500 workers.
2. Five percent of the pop. controls 90% of the wealth. Banking is more concentrated even than in the U.S., being completely in the hands of ten national companies with combined assets of \$34 billion, (1936) 81% of which is owned by the four leading banks. (Montreal, Royal, Commerce and Nova Scotia). Further centralization has taken place recently through the pooling of directorates to form a "national" Bank of Canada. In contrast with the U.S., Can. banking has been free of bank failures throughout the depression. The Big Four banks also control an estimated 75% of all trust company and 55% of all insurance company holdings and, through interlocking directorates, 75% of Canadian industry. These industrial corporations are in turn enormously centralized and interlocked. Can. Chemical Industries Ltd. controls all chemical rubber and war industries, corresponding monopolies are vested in the Bell Telephone, Imperial Oil, the steel Co. of Canada, Canada Packers, etc. Can. syndicates of General Motors and Ford monopolize auto production and the latter is now the controlling center for subsidiary motor plants through the British Empire. Rail and water transportation both inland and transoceanic is controlled by the C.P.R., largest travel corporation in the world, operating coal and metal mines, giant farms, timber and smelting companies, fleets of ocean liners, and a national hotel chain. The only other railroad is the CNR "nationally owned", virtually bankrupt, its absorption by the C.P.R. is being agitated in certain capitalist circles and opposed by the Stalinists.
3. Metal mining, at present the most prosperous of Canadian industries,



is similarly trustified. International Nickel exports 75% of the world's supply (a large portion to Japan) and controls also 50% of Canadian copper, zinc and lead, all key war-supplies, it is linked with the banking Big Four, as is the enormously profitable and expanding gold-mining industry, which has created a score of new Canadian millionaires in the last two years.

4. So top-heavy is the framework of the new Canadian capitalism that it plays a subsidiary imperialist role in itself, with two billion dollars of investments abroad. Can. power trusts and banks control the public utilities of Rio de Janeiro (Brazilian Traction), Barcelona and Mexico City, and have large investments and bank offices throughout the Latin Americas.

## V AMERICAN AND BRITISH INVESTMENTS

1. Although a powerful native capital has thus developed parallel to the U.S. and on a similar exploitation of the natural resources and of starving European immigrants, the Canadian bourg. have fattened themselves only by stealing large and larger scraps from the feastings of British and American imperialisms. It is the immense investment pressure of these two powers which has stamped the trustified pattern of modern capitalism upon a still sparsely-settled frontier country. Can. capital is now inescapably enmeshed with its foster-parents and its activities are only secondarily those of bourg. nationalism opposing imperialism, and primarily the internal reflections of American-British competition. Unalterable geography, as well as the course of history, has predetermined the triumph of ~~xxxxx~~ American~~xxxxxx~~. Since the war the latter has displaced Britain as Canada's chief trader (45% of all Can. trade) and investor (4 billions to Britain's 2 4/5 billions, (1934) out of a total of \$18 billion invested in Canada. The House of Morgan competes with ~~the~~ Rothermere for control of ~~xxxxxx~~ paper and pulp industry, owns most of the base-metal mines, and contests with Mond for control of Int. Nickel. Du Pont and the British I.C.I. are battling fists in Can. Ind. Ltd.; the oil monopoly is shared by Standard and by British Shell.

2. The extent of Americanization should not be exaggerated, however; though now much closer culturally as well as economically to the U.S. Canada's loyalist history and its large percentage of British immigrants have been easily exploited by British interests in the past, not only for war purposes but to secure preferential tariffs and favors for British investors. British finance still largely controls the C.P.F. and much of the country's finance.

3. Moreover the paralysis which overtook America with the world depression has prevented her from taking full advantage of the failing grasp of Britain in Canada. Despite the rich natural resources still to be tapped, despite the 20% arable land still uncultivated, world capitalism is unable to complete the industrialization of Canada. This situation is reflected in Canadian politics negatively by a temporary indifference to the idea of "secession" to a sick capitalist U.S., formerly advocated by distressed farmer groups and pro-American capitalists and positively by an increasing awareness on the part of the Canadian worker that his struggle is bound up with that of the American and world prolet.

4. The peculiar combined development of Canada has produced a prolet.



which, compared with the total population, is as large and as organized (12%) as that of the U.S.A. and is actually more concentrated and politically more class-conscious. The Social democratic movement plays a much relatively larger role in Can. politics than so far in the U.S. Its history of militant action is briefer, even more sporadic, but equally intense. In 1919 a General strike in Winnipeg established a semi-soviet form of political and industrial control of the workers which was broken only by military intervention from the east; periodic upheavals of the coal and metal miners especially on the eastern and western coasts have developed these traditions of bitter class struggle; they have been further extended in 1937 by a short but sharp wave of C.I.O. strikes in the large motor and textile industries of Ontario. High wages, home ownership, life insurance and other advantages shared by Can. workers in common with American and in contrast to European have evaporated and the realization that these cannot return is setting in motion a permanent radicalization of the Canadian prol.

## VI TRADE UNIONS

1. Nevertheless by European standards unionization in Can. is still backward (although rapidly increasing since 1935) and is specifically weakened by being split into several groupings. The largest and most militant of these is the Can. affiliation to the AFL, now 137,000 members. In Canada the CIO movement has remained inside the AFL because the craft union group had a weaker basis and have been compelled to adapt themselves to the great speed of industrial development in the country. Some craft-union strength lies outside of the AFL in the conservative railway brotherhoods (22,000) which represent the highest degree of unionization in the country (35%) and consequently the highest wage-levels, though these have recently been drastically cut. About 50,000 workers are affiliated to the All-Canadian Congress of Labor (ACCL: 27,000 members) or the Can. Red. of Labor (CFL: 25,000) rival national split-offs. The ACCL originated partly as a progressive revolt against AFL bureaucracy but rapidly developed a national chauvinistic bureaucracy of its own from which the CF of L is another revolt. The latter pursues a more progressive policy in B.C., endorsing the CCF and fighting Stalinist popular frontism. In addition, about 45,000 workers are enrolled in the Catholic "Syndicates" already referred to; formed in 1901 they did not show any militancy until this year; they are now increasing in numbers but still represent in the main reactionary separatist tendency. In the Stalinist third period more than 20,000 workers were enrolled in Red Trade Unions (WUL) which have now been liquidated. Finally about 37,000 workers are enrolled in independent international unions, chiefly the O.B.U. (25,000) Total Trade Union membership in 1936 had risen to 322,500, which is not yet equal to the peak of 380,000 in 1919.

2. Certain of these groups have given occasional timid support to the CCF and the latter is at present attempting to attract the union movement inside by allowing affiliation without compelling adherence to the party principles (on the plan of the Brit. L.P.), but so far without results. The new reformist policy of Stalinism has allowed the C.P. to penetrate and gain considerable organizational control of the national and international unions, especially in the lower ranks of the bureaucracies, where the Stalinists systematically support the right wing. In the west the T.U. movement has fading traditions of the old I.W.W. and O.B.U. days.

3. The C.I.O. drive resulted in the partial organization of the auto and textile industries but failed to reach the important and unorganized metal mines, packing, pulp and steel plants. Real wages in these and generally have always been somewhat lower than in the U.S. though away above European standards. Since the depression wages have dropped to new lows.



## Evaluation of C.C.F. entry Feb. 16, 1939

*(Unsigned; likely Earle Birney (Robertson) active in setting up the Socialist Policy Group into the CCF— Jack MacDonald in semi-retirement — Spector in New York)*

Due to pressure of other practical work – the press campaign for the *Socialist Action*, the organization of an anti-Fascist united front, study classes, etc., the P.C. has been able to give little time to a lengthy evaluation of the entry. It believes that the question merits only brief consideration; however, as a long drawn out rehashing of old dead issues, and revived mutual recriminations between those for and against entry would be not only academic and fruitless, but actually harmful to the conduct of our political work. An evaluation is useful only if it reviews the facts of the entry, its weaknesses and actual results, in order to clarify our present position and guide us in our future course.

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Certain criticisms might be levelled at the way our fraction work was conducted. Perhaps too long a period was taken for integration into the C.C.F. doing the everyday Jimmy Higgins jobs and keeping relatively silent on questions of principle. This was in large measure due to the lack of discipline and unserious attitude of our members to the new type of work in the C.C.F. During the summers when the C.C.F. went to sleep, more could have been done to keep our own membership active, study groups organized and internal education kept up. Although the financial and other difficulties were great, the "democracy" of the C.C.F. should have been stretched to a greater extent than was done by meetings on Spain, Moscow trials, etc., especially in the manner when open air meetings were possible. The S.P.G. should have been organized much before the Easter-'38 convention, and a fuller program than the incomplete war bulletin prepared, so that we could have utilized the pre-convention discussion period more fully for advancing our viewpoint and get a more complete statement into the hands of the provincial delegates.



This resulted from a low integration, itself the direct result of the failure of minority comrades to co-operate and failure of the fusion resulting from the American Chicago convention.

In pointing out that the entry did not fulfil our hopes, it is not fair however to conclude that it was unjustified. We are now launched once more on an independent existence, and it is fruitless at this point to debate whether it was right or wrong. It cannot be denied though, that our efforts would have been more productive, if, once having taken the decision, our whole membership had been disciplined, and entered as a united body.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE  
S.W.L. of Canada  
Feb. 16, 1939.

*(Some pertinent movement pre-war and wartime dates – ed.)*

May 1937: “The W.P. of C. (*Workers’ Party of Canada*) dissolved itself as an independent organization in Ontario (....) The majority of its members joined the C.C.F. (....) In Canada it was hoped to crystallize a left wing within the C.C.F. – a national mass labour party of several thousand workers with considerable following, especially in the West, and (elected) members in Federal and western provincial parliaments....”

Summer 1937-1938: “....after several months of bitter internal friction, we entered the CCF at the beginning of summer, so that it was not until fall and winter that we could integrate ourselves (....)”

Winter 1937-1938: “We were able to send forward several progressive resolutions passed by a few of the Toronto clubs (....) The formation of the S.P.G. as the open left wing of the CCF and the publication of the special war bulletin of *Socialist Action* for the Convention marked the climax of our entry (....)”

Dec. 16. 1938: Statement of the N.C. announces the foundation of the Socialist Workers League “as being on the agenda – Forward to the New party, Forward to the Party paper!”

Today (March 1939): “Our stay in the CCF is now approaching its close (....) In pointing out that the entry did not fulfil our hopes, it is not fair however to conclude that it was unjustified (....)”

September 1939: The 4<sup>th</sup> edition of the printed *Socialist Action* was closed down by War Measures Act at the outbreak of war. After the resignation and departure from the movement of its editor, *SA* continued publication during the war as a mimeographed bulletin on a sporadic basis until 1942.



1945: the movement regrouped, holding a conference in Montreal in 1944 and founding the R.W.P. before the end of the war in semi-clandestine conditions, and launching the printed monthly *Labor Challenge* in 1946.



National Status and Foreign Policy

Canada furnishes unique examples of uneven development. These are the results of its historical growth from a backward colony of French feudal commercialism which was conquered by British imperialism, and developed by it and by competing American Imperialism into a semi-independent State with an almost completely natural native capitalism. On the one hand most of its enormous area (Larger than that of the United States) is still either wild or settled under semi-frontier conditions, its population is comparatively tiny (11 million) and its chief export is an agricultural product, wheat, (68%) of total export value, 1936) On the other hand, 55% of the population are already urban (as compared to 12% in 1871) and there are nearly 2½ million wage and salary workers compared to 1 million engaged in agriculture. In one aspect, Canada is still the open battle-ground of American and British imperialisms; in another it appears as the domain of a highly trustified and wealthy national bourgeoisie, with ~~42%~~ 62% of the total capitalization of \$18 billion in its own control.

2. Its world status reflects this duality. Theoretically it is an independent dominion within the British Commonwealth, with its own seat at the League of Nations; yet much of its internal legislation is still subject to veto by the Privy Council at London, which has pursued, since the war, a policy of reducing the powers given the Dominion government (by the British North America Act of 1867) by favouring "state's rights" pleas of separate provinces within the Dominion.

3. Despite this, a strong national bourgeoisie has arisen out of the graft and spoliation of primary accumulations in the last two centuries, and has passed into an industrial-financial state by a long-run policy of protective tariffs against both American and British goods and, since the War, by independent diplomatic manoeuvres, as at the London Imperial Conference and the Washington Conference. At the latter Canada sided with the U.S. against the Anglo-Japanese alliance.

4. Nevertheless the foreign entanglements of London are still generally the entanglements of Canada; power to conscript a Canadian army for foreign wars still rests with a Council headed by a Governor-General "appointed by the King" (i.e. by the British Cabinet). At the same time because of Canada's obvious military dependence upon the United States, and because of the increasing pressure of American investments upon Canadian politics, the Canadian bourgeois governments since the war, both those of Bennett (Conservative) and McKenzie King (Liberal), have pursued a policy of compromise between the imperialist and the isolationist tendencies in Canadian capitalism. They have kept free of actual alliances for war, but have agreed to maintain naval and air bases for Britain in Canada, and have accepted with alacrity the increasingly large orders for airplanes and explosives being placed with Canadian industrialists, especially since the failure of the Swinton air-armament plan in England.

5. When Britain is actually at war again, Canadian capitalism will no doubt strive to remain neutral, as the least dangerous and most profitable position, especially if the United States is neutral; in such case Britain will probably not find it strategic to bring pressure upon Canada to enter the war as a combatant. If the United States is on the opposite side to Britain, pro-British capitalists and middle-



class patriots might wish to fight, but would be swamped not only by the power of the U.S. but by the pro-American sentiment of other sections of the Canadian bourgeoisie and of the farmers and workers.

## II Quebec and Minority Groupings

1. French Canada, concentrated largely in the province of Quebec, represents an additional argument for neutrality since it resisted conscription in the last war and threatens to secede in the event of another. The Canadiens (French-Canadians) comprise 28% of the total pop. of Canada, 85% of that of Quebec; special clauses in the British North America Act (under which the Dominion was created in 1867) guaranteed for Quebec the rights of separate (Catholic) schooling and equal status for the French language. This has fostered one of the most powerful units of the Roman Catholic church in the world, whose dignitaries openly control provincial politics. The result is a province where women are still unfrenchised, the closed shop is outlawed, communist meetings and press prohibited (Padlock Law), and where avowed ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ fascist organizations containing thousands of members drill openly. The majority of the Canadiens are small farmers and agricultural labourers, but increasing numbers of these are being transformed into industrial workers in large-scale factories as a result of expanding American pulp, power, and textile enterprises. The great majority of the Quebec proletarians are unorganized but, as pressure for unionization has grown, the Catholic hierarchy has been forced to foster a separate Catholic Syndicates to prevent a link-up with Canadian national or international unions. But the latter have made inroads despite this and lately the Catholic unions themselves conducted strikes, and have formed joint committees with the A.F. of L. to discuss governmental wage agreements and for local elections.

II. Meanwhile the Canadien/petit-bourgeoisie, alarmed by proletarian growth and militancy, and frustrated in their own capitalistic ambitions by the hegemony of Anglo-Saxon capital in Montreal, turn increasingly to the demagogy of the fascist Arcand and his National Christian Socialist Party. Arcand makes exaggerated claims to a following of 80,000; he is said to have links with the Kuhn Nazi groups in the U.S. and is certainly gaining strength. Arcand is smiled upon by the premier, Duplessis, who allows Arcand to edit the government's semi-official organ (L'Illustration Nouvelle). Duplessis' own party, the Union Nationale, elected on a reform ticket after a long and corrupt Liberal regime, plays a balancing role (by such acts as the Padlock Law) between the big-business interests of St. James Street (Canada's Wall St.) and the fascist anti-Semitic separatist support of Arcand.

3. The Canadien represents therefore a large concentrated grouping with separate historical traditions, culture, language and institutions (e.g. French civil law) and consequently with rights of cultural autonomy (e.g. maintenance of language) which must be conceded by the party of proletarian revolution. Nevertheless these racial distinctions are now preserved mainly artificially by the Catholic Church and the French section of the Quebec bourg. for reactionary purposes. Sixty-two percent of Quebec's population is now urban; this rapid proletarianizing of the habitant (Canadien farmer) is breaking down the language barrier and creating a prol. virtually indistinguishable from the rest of Canada and with the same economic future. The chief aim of rev's therefore should be the fusion of the prolet. into the organizations and struggles of the whole Can. and Amer. Proletariat.



4. There are some 50 other non-Anglo-Saxon groups in Canada, which, together with the French, make up half the total population and constitute the lowest paid section of the working-class; but these others are being rapidly assimilated and do not present any permanent language or racial problem. The one exception is the growing Oriental section of British Columbia (now nearing 7% of B.C.'s pop.) which has been systematically denied citizenship, even when born in Canada, and whose successes in agriculture and small trading have already been used by the Liberal Party as arguments for white-chauvinist policies on the west coast, just as Arcand makes scapegoats of the Jewish clothing workers in Montreal. Japanese and Chinese supply most of the labor in canning, fishing and market gardening, together with the few remnants of aboriginal Indians, and constitute the lowest paid section of the Canadian workers. The revolutionary party must work to secure their right of inclusion in Trade Union organizations, support their demands for citizenship. (timidly championed by the C.C.F.) and fight against all such race discrimination.

### III AGRICULTURE

1. The three central prairie provinces (Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta) produced, until 1932, an average yearly wheat crop of 400 million bushels. Even before the depression, however, the growing competition of Russia, China, and the Argentine had weakened the Canadian hold on the world market, and the position of the Canadian farmer was being steadily reduced by predatory control over freight rates and agricultural machinery prices by eastern trusts. Unscientific methods of dry farming and sporadic droughts weakened the soil in large areas, while the passing of the control of the cooperative Wheat Pool into the hands of big ~~banking~~ banking interests further reduced the individual bargaining power of the farmer. With the collapse of the world market, agric. production went down 60% and the already large section of farmers in debt was increased to 80%, so that the mass of growers are now virtually tenant-farmers and laborers for the banks. Average farm income is now under \$500 a year and agric. wages \$300 ( \$820 in 1920).

2. The passing of pioneer prosperity days had already been reflected in dissident political movements of the farmers. Independent farmer governments came to power in the post-war days in the prairie provinces. Unable to buck the national banking and railroad systems these parties soon disintegrated. In Manitoba and Sask. The farmers returned to Liberal Governments, though with increasing and significant votes for the CCF (Socialist) Party. In Alberta, they fell victims to the Social Credit nonsense of the religious fakir, Abernart, and are now once more in process of disillusionment. In the meantime, the farmers plight worsens, whereas in 1937 there was a slight decrease in the total number on relief in Canada, the number of farmers on relief increased 37%.

3. In these circumstances the 60% farming pop. of the Prairie Provinces present a serious problem not only for the capitalists but for the proletarian revolution. Isolated from proletarian influence yet increasingly pauperized and disillusioned with capitalism, they offer a reservoir for fascism unless the rev. party can win their confidence and support.

4. Although the CCF originated in a federation of the Alberta Farmer and Labor Parties, it rapidly lost its farm support because it failed to link the farmers' fight against the banks and railroads with the general proletarian struggle for socialism. In Ontario, on the other hand, where there is a large class of semi-prosperous orchard farmers, the CCF



retained some farm elements by diluting its social-democratism and so losing proletarian confidence. The great majority of Ontario farmers remain political reactionaries, who form the basis of popular support for the reactionary Liberal premier Hepburn, and served as his strike-breakers in last year's Ontario strike-wave. Similarly in the eastern maritime Provinces (especially New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island) ~~Maritime~~ reactionary Liberal Governments receive the popular support of fruit-farmers in the passage of bills forbidding strikes (e.g. New Brunswick's recent "Industrial Relations Bill") directed against the growing class-consciousness of the maritime lumberworkers, miners, and fishers. In Nova Scotia, however, militant struggles of such workers have forced the passage of a "Little Wagner Act", legalizing the right of collective bargaining. Uncompromising struggle must be waged against the reactionary separatist character of the independent farmer parties with their demands for high tariffs against foreign foodstuffs and their support of anti-labor legislation. At the same time, progressive farmer demands, such as the present agitation for mortgage cancellations, federalized relief and crop insurance, should be supported by the proletarian party of revolution, as practical steps towards the inclusion of politicized farmers in the labor movement. Such support must be accompanied by careful propaganda directed to show the farmer that his economic miseries cannot be solved under capitalism and that his future lies in the hands of the proletarian revolution.

#### IV. Industry and Finance

1. Again reflecting features of uneven development Canada shows a co-existence of highly developed and rationalized industries in isolated centres with a continual primary development of mining and lumbering along an expanding frontier. Manufacturing is highly centralized and trustified, so that nearly 3 million of the 11 million pop. is concentrated in five cities, although these are dotted across a 3,000 mile line. Between 1923-30 the industrial prolet. increased at the rate of 20,000 a year, and half of this was taken up by plants employing over 500 workers.
2. Five percent of the pop. controls 90% of the wealth. Banking is more concentrated even than in the U.S., being completely in the hands of ten national companies with combined assets of \$34 billion, (1936) 81% of which is owned by the four leading banks. (Montreal, Royal, Commerce and Nova Scotia). Further centralization has taken place recently through the pooling of directorates to form a "national" Bank of Canada. In contrast with the U.S., Can. banking has been free of bank failures throughout the depression. The Big Four banks also control an estimated 75% of all trust company and 55% of all insurance company holdings and, through interlocking directorates, 75% of Canadian industry. These industrial corporations are in turn enormously centralized and interlocked. Can. Chemical Industries Ltd. controls all chemical rubber and war industries, corresponding monopolies are vested in the Bell Telephone, Imperial Oil, the steel Co. of Canada, Canada Packers, etc. Can. syndicates of General Motors and Ford monopolize auto production and the latter is now the controlling center for subsidiary motor plants through the British Empire. Rail and water transportation both inland and transoceanic is controlled by the C.P.R., largest travel corporation in the world, operating coal and metal mines, giant farms, timber and smelting companies, fleets of ocean liners, and a national hotel chain. The only other railroad is the CNR "nationally owned", virtually bankrupt, its absorption by the C.P.R. is being agitated in certain capitalist circles and opposed by the Stalinists.
3. Metal mining, at present the most prosperous of Canadian industries,



is similarly trustified. International Nickel exports 75% of the world's supply (a large portion to Japan) and controls also 50% of Canadian copper, zinc and lead, all key war-supplies, it is linked with the banking Big Four, as is the enormously profitable and expanding gold-mining industry, which has created a score of new Canadian millionaires in the last two years.

4. So top-heavy is the framework of the new Canadian capitalism that it plays a subsidiary imperialist role in itself, with two billion dollars of investments abroad. Can. power trusts and banks control the public utilities of Rio de Janeiro (Brazilian Traction), Barcelona and Mexico City, and have large investments and bank offices throughout the Latin Americas.

## V AMERICAN AND BRITISH INVESTMENTS

1. Although a powerful native capital has thus developed parallel to the U.S. and on a similar exploitation of the natural resources and of starving European immigrants, the Canadian bourg. have fattened themselves only by stealing large and larger scraps from the feastings of British and American imperialisms. It is the immense investment pressure of these two powers which has stamped the trustified pattern of modern capitalism upon a still sparsely-settled frontier country. Can. capital is now inescapably enmeshed with its foster-parents and its activities are only secondarily those of bourg. nationalism opposing imperialism, and primarily the internal reflections of American-British competition. Unalterable geography, as well as the course of history, has predetermined the triumph of ~~xxxxx~~ American~~xxxxxx~~. Since the war the latter has displaced Britain as Canada's chief trader (45% of all Can. trade) and investor (4 billions to Britain's 2 4/5 billions, (1934) out of a total of \$18 billion invested in Canada. The House of Morgan competes with ~~the~~ Rothermere for control of ~~xxxxxx~~ paper and pulp industry, owns most of the base-metal mines, and contests with Mond for control of Int. Nickel. Du Pont and the British I.C.I. are battling fists in Can. Ind. Ltd.; the oil monopoly is shared by Standard and by British Shell.

2. The extent of Americanization should not be exaggerated, however; though now much closer culturally as well as economically to the U.S. Canada's loyalist history and its large percentage of British immigrants have been easily exploited by British interests in the past, not only for war purposes but to secure preferential tariffs and favors for British investors. British finance still largely controls the C.P.F. and much of the country's finance.

3. Moreover the paralysis which overtook America with the world depression has prevented her from taking full advantage of the failing grasp of Britain in Canada. Despite the rich natural resources still to be tapped, despite the 20% arable land still uncultivated, world capitalism is unable to complete the industrialization of Canada. This situation is reflected in Canadian politics negatively by a temporary indifference to the idea of "secession" to a sick capitalist U.S., formerly advocated by distressed farmer groups and pro-American capitalists and positively by an increasing awareness on the part of the Canadian worker that his struggle is bound up with that of the American and world prolet.

4. The peculiar combined development of Canada has produced a prolet.



which, compared with the total population, is as large and as organized (12%) as that of the U.S.A. and is actually more concentrated and politically more class-conscious. The Social democratic movement plays a much relatively larger role in Can. politics than so far in the U.S. Its history of militant action is briefer, even more sporadic, but equally intense. In 1919 a General strike in Winnipeg established a semi-soviet form of political and industrial control of the workers which was broken only by military intervention from the east; periodic upheavals of the coal and metal miners especially on the eastern and western coasts have developed these traditions of bitter class struggle; they have been further extended in 1937 by a short but sharp wave of C.I.O. strikes in the large motor and textile industries of Ontario. High wages, home ownership, life insurance and other advantages shared by Can. workers in common with American and in contrast to European have evaporated and the realization that these cannot return is setting in motion a permanent radicalization of the Canadian prol.

## VI TRADE UNIONS

1. Nevertheless by European standards unionization in Can. is still backward (although rapidly increasing since 1935) and is specifically weakened by being split into several groupings. The largest and most militant of these is the Can. affiliation to the AFL, now 137,000 members. In Canada the CIO movement has remained inside the AFL because the craft union group had a weaker basis and have been compelled to adapt themselves to the great speed of industrial development in the country. Some craft-union strength lies outside of the AFL in the conservative railway brotherhoods (22,000) which represent the highest degree of unionization in the country (35%) and consequently the highest wage-levels, though these have recently been drastically cut. About 50,000 workers are affiliated to the All-Canadian Congress of Labor (ACCL: 27,000 members) or the Can. Red. of Labor (CFL: 25,000) rival national split-offs. The ACCL originated partly as a progressive revolt against AFL bureaucracy but rapidly developed a national chauvinistic bureaucracy of its own from which the CF of L is another revolt. The latter pursues a more progressive policy in B.C., endorsing the CCF and fighting Stalinist popular frontism. In addition, about 45,000 workers are enrolled in the Catholic "Syndicates" already referred to; formed in 1901 they did not show any militancy until this year; they are now increasing in numbers but still represent in the main reactionary separatist tendency. In the Stalinist third period more than 20,000 workers were enrolled in Red Trade Unions (WUL) which have now been liquidated. Finally about 37,000 workers are enrolled in independent international unions, chiefly the O.B.U. (25,000) Total Trade Union membership in 1936 had risen to 322,500, which is not yet equal to the peak of 380,000 in 1919.

2. Certain of these groups have given occasional timid support to the CCF and the latter is at present attempting to attract the union movement inside by allowing affiliation without compelling adherence to the party principles (on the plan of the Brit. L.P.), but so far without results. The new reformist policy of Stalinism has allowed the C.P. to penetrate and gain considerable organizational control of the national and international unions, especially in the lower ranks of the bureaucracies, where the Stalinists systematically support the right wing. In the west the T.U. movement has fading traditions of the old I.W.W. and O.B.U. days.

3. The C.I.O. drive resulted in the partial organization of the auto and textile industries but failed to reach the important and unorganized metal mines, packing, pulp and steel plants. Real wages in these and generally have always been somewhat lower than in the U.S. though away above European standards. Since the depression wages have dropped to new lows.



***NOTES BY EARL BIRNEY (signed Robertson – –ed.)***

Text of pages 7, 8,9 and 10 : "Canadian capitalism & the strategy of the revolutionary movement"

(....) *beginning top of page 7:*

(...) needle-trade workers in (Quebec) receive as low as 5 cents an hour. In 1931 unskilled labour averaged \$9 a week or a quarter of the minimum health standard computed that year by the government itself. The average wage of the half-million workers was \$10 a week in 1931, and of all workers (including salaried) was \$18.

4. The immediate tasks in the T.U. Field are therefore : the creation of joint action committees leading to the unification of the (various) T.U. Centres with an industrial union policy. The drawing of these unions into independent political action (with affiliation to the CCF an immediate progressive step), and into organizing the as yet unorganized masses of workers and unemployed. The final perspective for T.U. Organization should be the linking of a unified Cdn. T.U. Organization with the progressive forces of American trade-unionism.
5. Always and everywhere Cdn. Revs. Must stress the inter-dependence of the Can.-Am. Movements, though it should not be forgotten that the opening round of the Am. Rev. Can begin in Canada; the victory in the first can only come through the support of the Am. Prol., support which would not likely be sufficient unless the Am. Workers were at the same time in the process of overthrowing U.S. Capitalism. The downfall of cap. In Can. As in Latin America is synonymous with the establishment of the prol. Dictatorship in North America.

## VII THE DEPRESSION

1. The depression as has been seen produced a crisis as severe in Cda. As in the U.S.; industrial and farm production dropped to an even a lower level than across the border; in the pulp industry alone there was 24% bankruptcy. The new world armament race , however, enormously revived mining and war industries and produced a business revival similar to that in the U.S. Imports and exports with Japan have increased 33%; Can. Now supplies 72% of Japan's aluminum, 90% of her copper, 97% of her nickel. Gross dividends of all industries reached an all-time high in 1937. "Recession" is already following, with the usual time-lag between Am. And Can. Indices, and though more gradual so far is likely to reach even lower levels in the absence of any enterprising Federal policy of palliatives on the Roosevelt model. (...) The shifting of responsibility for relief upon local



and prov. Authorities has steadily bankrupted the latter, created deeper feuds within the capitalist parties themselves pauperized farmers and unemployed, and, with the threatened suspension of all relief, paves the way for wider and sharper class-struggles.

2. But the subjective factors are still behind the subjective; there is a lack of organizational unity in the T.U.s and of any real national revolutionary tendency or even national labor party. Stalinism continues to emasculate the radicalized elements, and the farmers remain in the main hostile to labor politics. The recent downtrend in (the) economy will probably develop in the coming period into a deep-going social crisis. Falling relief standards may be visualized together by intensive drives by capitalism against the living standards won by the union movement, and corresponding defensive fights by workers and unemployed against these cuts. Disillusionment with the old-line capitalist parties will undoubtedly spread and create possibilities for a national labor party. Within or without the CCF. The Bolshevik-Leninists must be prepared to meet such a situation with bold slogans of action combined with propaganda slogans which will bridge the gap between the backward leadership and the forward objective conditions. The rise of fascism in Quebec, and of violent strike-breaking governments elsewhere already put the creation of workers' defence guards upon the order of the day. Propaganda slogans of expropriation of the "Fifty Big Shots" control of production can be utilized to fill the social-democratic shell of CCF policy with revolutionary meaning. (*CCF=Cooperative Commonwealth Federation, the Canadian farmer-labor party founded in 1933, succeeded by the NDP in 1961—ed.*)

## VIII THE UNEMPLOYED

1. The rapid concentration and rationalization of Canadian industry had already created a permanent reserve of unemployed during the height of post-war prosperity. With the depression, the base-metal mines (except nickel) and the pulp and lumbering enterprises collapsed; by 1933, 27% of all wage-earners were on relief, the proportion reaching 75% in some urban areas. Farm crises swelled the total so that by 1935 over one and one-half million were directly dependent on relief. Trade revival has reduced the official number of totally unemployed to 8%, but continuing rationalization has rendered most of these "unemployable" even with a return of capitalist prosperity, which the disappearance of wage-savings and farm assets have swept away the comparatively high standards of living of the Canadian farmer and urban worker. Of the latter, 55% are now propertyless and the homes of most of the rest are hopelessly mortgaged. Since 1935 the relief and unemployment totals have decreased only slightly and with the penetration into Canada this year of the American "recession" these totals begin to rise again.



2. Organization of the unemployed reached its peak under the Stalinist drive in the “third period” days (*the temporary ultra-left sectarian policy swing of Moscow-oriented Communist Parties in the mid-30s—ed.*), when national hunger-marches were staged and mass organizations were created in certain areas. These quickly collapsed because of “third-period” ultra-leftism and have not been revived: the CCF and the trade unions have made little attempt to organize the unemployed who are now almost wholly unorganized; the exceptions being local sporadic groups of little effectiveness.

3. Unemployed discontent is nevertheless widespread and growing. Because relief measures have been applied only by local or provincial authorities, at varied and fluctuating rates, discontent has been inclined to take local and spontaneous forms: marches, riots, relief camp strikes (B.C.), which have been generally ineffective. The average relief scale is at bare subsistence level, greatly below the federal relief rates and WPA scales in the U.S. The organisation and canalization of the discontent of the large, permanent unemployed army is a pressing and fundamental task awaiting a Canadian revolutionary party.

## IX POLITICAL PARTIES

1. Most urgent of all is the problem of creating a nucleus for the party itself. The present political scene is dominated by the Liberal Party of McKenzie King. By no means liberal in its policies it can be distinguished from the previous Conservative Party of Bennett, now the official federal opposition, only as it favors American investment interests in preference to British (but this distinction is rapidly vanishing), and is tied up with the newer mining fortunes of Canada; its mass support comes from the petit-bourgeoisie and farmers. Because of popular isolationist sentiment King pursues a carefully negative foreign policy, at the same time facilitating munition production for Britain and war-trade with Japan. In the face of the crisis King has been forced to make gestures towards federal relief legislation but at the expense of party dissensions headed by Hepburn, leader of the Ontario provincial Liberals’ financial heart of the party. Hepburn, directly controlled by mining interests, pursues a frankly reactionary policy: he raised his own troops to smash the General Motors CIO strike at Oshawa, prevented the entry of unions into the mines, and has effected a bloc with the red-baiting Duplessis and the Union National party of Quebec. This bloc represents a solid front of Eastern finance capital against the growing demands of the agricultural areas for increased federal powers. National attention is at the moment centered in the rival pleas of the various provinces before the Rowell Commission empowered to recommend changes in the B.N.A. Act (*British North America Act, 1867, legislation empowering Canadian Confederation—ed.*)



2. The CCF is a typical social-democratic party definitely right-wing in its federal leadership and program, but youthful (5 years old) and still capable of some left-wing development. It grew quickly at first reaching 20,000 active members, winning 300,000 votes and 7 members in the last federal election, and securing representation in the provincial parliaments of 5 western provinces. But because it lacked bold and unified policies it lost much of its Ontario proletarian and its prairie farm support. Nationally the CCF remains a loose federation without a consistent policy on major issues; its federal members act largely as individuals; some supporting the League (*of Nations, precursor to the UN*) and collective security, others following the general party sentiment for neutrality.

3. In Ontario, home of the largest section of the Canadian proletariat the CCF is now small, petit-bourgeois and bureaucratic in leadership, and policyless; its membership has shrunk to 2,000 and its parliamentary representation disappeared (although the party still polled 80,000 votes in the last Ontario election. In the Maritimes and Quebec the CCF has never had any success. The party's mass influence is confined to Winnipeg, which returns 2 Federal members, including Woodsworth, the party leader, to some Saskatchewan farm areas (2 Federal members) and to B.C.

4. In B.C. the CCF is the official opposition in the provincial House and returns 3 members to the Federal (Parliament). Although the B.C. section has also declined from a peak of 40% of the provincial votes it is still large and influential among the urban workers of Vancouver and the mining areas. This is chiefly due to the fact that the B.C. section has taken active part in the extra-parliamentary struggles of the workers in a province traditionally militant. Its extreme right wing was driven out two years ago resulting in the growth of left-wing and centrist tendencies, and the preservation of mass influence. The chief hope for the development of a revolutionary movement at the moment centres in the CCF in B.C.

5. The policies of the CP (*Stalinist Communist Party of Canada –ed.*) are of course those of the Third International everywhere. Founded in 1923 it built a tradition of militancy which was exploited and dissipated in a number of bloody strikes in the "Third Period" days. With the (*re*)turn to "Popular Frontism" (*multi-class, "anti-monopoly" coalitions –ed.*) the CP has concentrated its energies in Peace Leagues, in solidarizing itself with the trade union bureaucracy (with notable success in the CIO), and in organizational fractional manoeuvres within the CCF for the purpose of capturing control of its machinery. The Canadian "Popular Front" tendency at present takes the form of a Labor Representation Association based on its trade union influence, but it has so far failed to involve appreciable numbers in the trade unions or the CCF largely because the latter has been unable to resolve a conflict in its own ranks between collective security and isolationist policies. The older support of the CP which came from the lower-paid but



politicized middle-European immigrant, notably from sections of the 300,000 Ukrainians in Canada, is being gradually lost in exchange for the usual periphery of middle-class democrats. The party claims to have 10,000 members still and certainly represents a dangerous reactionary force which must be constantly fought and yet from whose ranks proletarian militants may still be drawn. Both the bosses and the trade union bureaucracy find increasing use for Stalinism and the consequent Stalinist entrenchment in the TUS makes them more alluring allies to the political careerists in the CCF leadership. Apart from partial disagreement on foreign policy the CP and the CCF have parallel reformist programmes and increasingly nite their local platforms for successes in municipal elections. They make parallel agitations, nationally for an embargo against Japan, Fed action to relieve unem. And farm distress, and to fix wages and hours to repeal the Que. Padlock law, and to secure state ownership of the C.P.R.

6. The victory of bureaucratic centrism in the 3<sup>rd</sup> Interntl in 1927 had an immediate repercussion in the Can CP by the expulsion of Spector, its leading theoretician and national editor, followed by the expulsion of others including later the national sec MacDonald. Around the leadership of these two a small Left Opposition grew in Toronto and maintained these connections with the parallel American group. When the latter entered the stage of the SLA the Toronto group functions for a time directly as one of its sections, but later assumed organizational independence under the name of the Workers Party of Canada.
7. During the latter days of the « third period » the WPC grew to 125 members & extended its influence. A bi-monthly organ was created, groups formed in the other four large cities and a tradition of propaganda meetings established in Toronto. A Spartacus Youth League was developed to 150 members and an adult Ukrainian branch founded which published a B-L bulletin in its own language. Progressively TU policies brought contacts and influence in the needleworkers and boot and shoe crafts, and an unemployed movement was built up to 350 members. In general, however, the WPC was isolated from the working masses, and hampered by splitting sectarians within its ranks. One of the latter was purged by the expulsion of a Fieldite group, largely petite-bourgeois, which has since maintained itself as a propaganda sect in Toronto.
8. With the CP turn to popular frontism, the UPC entered into a period of declining influence and activity. Organizational weakness was increased by the loss of Apector to the American movement, and later of MacDonald into political inactivity, throwing the burden of leadership upon comparatively inexperienced comrades. In Ontario, the Spartacist Youth sought to overcome isolation by entering the CCYM, youth section of the CCF, but their work was cut short by the



rapid degeneration of this organization. In order to hold their influence they were forced to follow the militant youth out of the CCYM into the adult CCF. In Vancouver, where the only other WPC group remained, the mass character of both the CCYM and CCF movements had early compelled our comrades to concentration in fractional work in these organizations, though continuing a WPC framework outside. In Toronto where the CCF was weaker, a division of opinion occurred among our comrades as to the tactical wisdom of entry. A long and paralyzing factional fight followed which further reduced the ranks and resulted in a split. A majority of 35 entered the CCF with the approval of the International Secretariat, while a minority of 18 remained outside and attempted to carry on a separate identity. The Minority soon disintegrated and this year most of their active members joined the majority in the CCF. Some continue as an independent educational club in a youth branch of the workman's circle.

9. The majority seriously weakened by the smallness of its cadre and hampered by the hostility of the CCF bureaucracy, went through a slow process of consolidation in the CCF which is just now bearing fruit. An open left-wing group, the Socialist Policy Group, has now been organizing and is in process of national unification with the Vancouver forces. A twice-monthly (*....continued on page 11*)



monthly mimeographed organ is being published putting forward a revolutionary policy for the CCF. The SPG has a force of about 40 in Toronto with a dozen outside the CCF giving general adherence, and slightly less in Vancouver, predominantly our comrades, since there has been little time yet to convert contacts into recruits. In Ontario the eventual recruitment will undoubtedly be small, because of the limited opportunities of the CCF there at the present, but in Vancouver the possibilities are much wider. Efforts are being made there to unify around the SPG two leftwing groupings already in existence, each with a fraction organ. Our own cadre there has won strong positions in the youth and because of its almost complete proletarian composition, has considerable influence in unemployed and TU work.

10. The wide differences in the character of the CCF in Ontario and B.C. continue to make the formulation of a national perspective very difficult. The tightening bureaucracy and falling membership in the Ont. CCF may force our comrades there to conclude their CCF experiences at any time now, although at least a summer's lease of life seems probable. In B.C. however our comrades at present see a longer perspective with increasingly fruitful work. For both sections the immediate tasks are however clear: the extension of the SPG nationally throughout the CCF, with the national CCF convention in July as the immediate focus of attack; the concentration of energies and forces upon the exposure of socialdemocratic and Stalinist policies and the counterposing of the revolutionary program of the Fourth Intl.; the organization within the CCF of a national group which will be prepared at the proper moment to emerge into independent life as the Canadian section of the Fourth Intl.

11. In the meantime the closest possible contact with the American SWP is necessary; upon the latter our comrades are largely dependent for literature and will continue to be so even with the re-establishment of Canadian organs. Also, although organizational separation will be necessary for some time, the policy of fraternal consultation and of representation at American plenums and conventions should be continued for the exchange of information and advice. The use of American propaganda speakers should be increased; of great benefit in strengthening the sense of solidarity between the Can. and Amer. prolet. the practice is of special importance at present because of the strategic difficulties which prevent the Can. comrades from holding open propaganda meetings under their own banner. Whenever possible American speakers on tour should include Montreal, Toronto, Winnipeg and Vancouver in their itinerary, with the full financial support of the Can. section. A system of collaboration on trade union questions and local problems is greatly needed between the Amer. west coast and Vancouver, which has never yet been visited by a national Canadian or American speaker. In every way links should be forged towards the North American and world proletariat.

## I SOCIALIST POLICY GROUP

1. The Socialist Policy Group was formed in April this year as a legal organization within the Ont. CCF under cover of which the 4th Intl. revolutionaries in the CCF carry on their activity. Originating as an educational group, the S.P.G. has gradually changed its character into a militant left-wing which is now in the process of:

(1) Adopting revolutionary positions on every question of national and international importance.

(2) of waging a relentless political struggle against the reformist bureaucracy.

(3) of exposing the reactionary policies and opportunist tactics of



Stalinist stooges within the CCF.

(4) of publishing fortnightly an internal mimeographed organ, the Socialist Action bringing our point of view to the membership.

2. While the S.P.G. has as yet attracted few revolutionary elements to its line, nevertheless it is felt that as the inevitable fight with the bureaucracy gets underway, all genuine left wingers will be drawn into the struggle in our support although in the end they may not follow us out. It would be futile to attempt to set a date for leaving the CCF: this will be determined by the course of events, the tactics of the bureaucracy and the influence of the SPG in the membership. So long as we are allowed complete freedom to propagate our revolutionary ideas among the members and thereby spread our influence, unnecessarily provoking our expulsion would be pointless. On the other hand any paralysing curtailment of our freedom in the CCF, the outlawing of the SPG or banning the Socialist Action e.g. would premise a political struggle culminating in the formation of an Independent section of the 4th International.

3. Until recently the spg was confined solely to Toronto where most of our forces lie. However ~~the SPG was now~~ steps have already been taken to transform it into a national tendency by the formation of a similar group in Vancouver, B.C. The tempo of our work in Toronto or Vancouver would not be hampered by developments in either city owing to the nature of the national CCF as a loose federation of practically autonomous provincial organizations. Under such circumstances the expulsion from the CCF of our comrades in Toronto would not exclude our Vancouver group remaining in the CCF until local conditions warranted a split.

Robertson.

Note by R.D. →

Left Can Trust  
1940  
Borne



# BUILD THE ANTI-WAR PARTY

**WORKERS OF CANADA! TODAY, AS IN 1914, YOU ARE  
BEING BETRAYED INTO WAR!**

The Dominion Committee of the Canadian Communist Party (Clarion, Aug. 26)

LIES when it says this will be "a just war... a war in defense of democracy".

The TRUTH is that the imperialist bosses of Britain and France want to protect their profitable colonies by crushing their German-Italian rivals now.

The TRUTH is that "democracy" has never existed in their colonies and NO LONGER EXISTS IN BRITAIN OR FRANCE.

The Clarion editor (Aug. 26)

BETRAYS when he asks you to "defend the independence of Poland and preserve peace".

The TRUTH is that the Polish masses have no independence. They are ruled by reactionary landlords and army officers who have massacred Jews, outlawed the Communist Party, and deprived the millions of Ukrainians and other minorities of democratic rights.

The TRUTH is that only hypocrites talk of "preserving" peace by making war.

The Communist Party leadership

LIES when it says "the national security and territorial safety of Canada is imperilled" —

The TRUTH is that the Tim Bucks are aiding the Colonel Drews in fomenting a war hysteria —

CONFUSES when it blames Chamberlain for encouraging Hitler.

The TRUTH is that IT WAS STALIN WHO HASTENED THE CRISIS BY GIVING HITLER THE GO-AHEAD SIGNAL —

CONCEALS when it says the Stalin-Hitler deals are simple non-aggression and trade pacts.

The TRUTH is that Russia is committed to supplying Hitler with materials and REFUSING MATERIALS TO POLAND when war comes between them. Read article 2 of the "non-aggression pact (not printed in the Clarion).

The TRUTH is that STALIN has sabotaged his own fake "peace front" with the "democratic peace-loving countries".

The TRUTH is that TROTSKY WAS RIGHT when last October he predicted a treacherous deal between the Kremlin bureaucracy and the Nazis.

## WHAT IS TO BE DONE

The Third International is dead. In Canada its leaders join with CCF leaders in preparing for enlistment in the army of the bosses.

BUT THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL LIVES. Its Canadian section, The Socialist Workers League, calls for ENLISTMENT IN THE RANKS OF THE WORKERS in RESISTANCE to the coming war.

The CP's Dominion Committee demands that King declare for war without waiting for Parliament. We stand for strike, boycott and other forms of organized independent working-class resistance to Canadian participation in the war.

We stand for the continued struggle to overthrow capitalism, against the main enemy, our own capitalists.

We stand for solidarity with the workers of Germany and Italy, against their fascist overlords.

We declare that they will be aided in overthrowing their own governments by our fight here at home. We can not make socialists of them by shooting them.

CANADIAN WORKERS EVERYWHERE! JOIN WITH US IN BUILDING THE CANADIAN ANTI-WAR PARTY!

ONLY SOCIALISM CAN END WAR!

THE FIGHT FOR WORKING CLASS FREEDOM, IS THE FIGHT AGAINST IMPERIALIST WAR!

ISSUED BY THE SOCIALIST WORKERS LEAGUE  
CANADIAN SEC, OF THE 4TH INTERNATIONAL



*Revised  
all names  
sent*



House of Commons  
Canada

60 Maryland St.,

Winnipeg, Nov. 28, 1939.

Dear Mr. Dawson. —

Undoubtedly, I am much interested in the defence of our civil liberties and although, forced by ill-health to take a less active part than I have been doing I do have opportunities for publicizing such situations as that concerning Frank Watson. But I would say frankly that your own appeal is not sufficient. Under what board are you operating? Anonymity does not inspire confidence. As far as the C. E. F. is concerned it would be well to have your appeal come through the Interior's organization. In the meantime I propose to bring some influence to bear directly on Ottawa.

Yours sincerely,

J. S. Woodsworth (per L. L. W.)



(1940) Murray Dawson

Mr. R. A. C. Ballantyne,  
Executive Secretary,  
Canadian Civil Liberties Union,  
1405 Peel Street,  
Montreal, Que.

Dear Mr. Ballantyne:

*our relationship with*

Thank you for your kind letter of November 22nd. ~~The~~ <sup>Our</sup> reply was delayed because we had hoped to be able to send you information of a more concrete nature at this time, in respect to ~~the~~ Toronto Civil Liberties Union.

You are no doubt aware that Frank Watson's appeal was rejected. Our committee ~~did~~ ~~not~~ everything that was possible under the circumstances, and we have ~~by~~ no means accepted definitive defeat. On the contrary, we intend to press for his ~~release~~ through the Minister of Justice at Ottawa.

However, we are sadly hampered by the weakness of our committee, and we are in complete accord with your viewpoint that "it would be desirable to have all the Defence of Canada Regulations cases handled by one body". With this perspective in mind, we approached the Toronto C.L.U., but have met with little success as yet. The ~~original~~ trial was sympathetically received by members of the C.L.U., but no official action was taken.

*we were advised*

Since then, we have tried to establish an official contact with the organization, but it has not been able to take up the matter. ~~However~~, that you were present at its last executive meeting, and as a result the time was taken up with other questions pertinent to your visit. We have since been promised ~~that~~ the matter will come up at an early date.

We shall send you a copy of the evidence if it is possible to do so. We have not yet been able to procure such a copy of the appeal, and will advise you further. In the meantime, any influence that you can direct towards activating the Toronto C.L.U. will be greatly appreciated by our committee, ~~and~~ We are prepared to dissolve our group in a ~~new~~ larger organization required by the situation.

*favor of*

Sincerely yours,

M. G. Dawson  
F.W.Def. Com.

*in actual defence work*

P. S.: We are sending a copy of this letter to the Toronto organization.



# FUNDS URGENTLY NEEDED FOR

Rallying to the aid of one of the first victims of war-time persecution, American militants, in a living demonstration of international solidarity, formed this week the Watson Defense Fund in behalf of Frank Watson, English-Canadian worker arrested on the streets of Toronto Sept. 15 by the Dominion police for his outspoken denunciation of the imperialist war.

The American Labor Aid, initiator of the Defense Fund, had been approached with appeals

from members of Canadian labor organizations to assist them in the struggle for Watson's liberation. Despite the war-time dictatorship that exists in the Dominion, making extremely difficult the distribution of propaganda calling upon Canadian workers to support the struggle for Watson's freedom, many individuals and members of the Canadian Commonwealth Federation, the Fourth Internationalist Socialist Workers League and other labor organizations have already been

active in the Watson Defense Committee.

## A Call to Arms

Mary Green, National Secretary of the American Labor Aid, commenting on the arrest of the Canadian militant, stated, "The Watson case is the first example on our continent of the effects of the present war upon the rights and liberties of the people on whose behalf it is supposedly waged. It is a danger signal to the workers and genuine fighters for liberty throughout America. It is a call

## WATSON DEFENSE!

to arms in the defense of civil rights during the difficult period ahead."

Arrested one week after Canada's declaration of war upon Germany, Watson, speaking in Toronto from the platform of the Socialist Workers League, declared, "We are being asked to fight for a democracy which

forces women to work at nine cents a day in the coal mines of India, which compels the Negro workers of South Africa to live in a pestilential ghetto and to carry as many as eleven

passes in order to move about, a democracy which confiscates the land of Kenya farmers and forces them into wage labor at starvation rates. The British Empire," Watson continued, "is no democracy but a ragbag of territories stolen from other peoples during the last 200 years."

Calling upon the workers of Canada to resist and oppose a war in which they have nothing to gain and everything to lose, Watson exclaimed, "Workers, (Continued on Page 3)

Article from **The Militant** (SWP, New York) – corrected version of text:

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# GROWING PROTEST MOVEMENT CHALLENGES WATSON ARREST

(Continued from Page 1)

an ex-recruiting sergeant, lied when they inferred that the large crowd which listened to Watson resented his anti-war statements. On the contrary, the crowd listened with great sympathy to his address. They murmured approval when Watson pointed out the slight differences existing between fascist rule in Germany and the military dictatorship in England.

When the arrest came on that fateful evening, it was counter to the wishes of the assembled workers. The police tried in vain to persuade the workers to appear in court on the side of the prosecution. Having failed to convince any of the workers at that meeting to appear against Watson, the authorities fell back on the testimony of the soldier and the ex-recruiting sergeant, both of whom had put in the call to the police for the arrest.

More than seven hundred workers gathered about Watson as the police waited for re-inforcements to clinch the arrest. Members of the Socialist Workers League in the milling crowd heard sympathetic comment on all sides. One worker resentfully pointed out that Oswald Mosley, the hated British fascist leader, was permitted to hold open meetings on the streets of London while the anti-fascist Watson faced arrest and conviction for daring to voice honest working class opinion.

## Wide Resentment

The brazen arrest and conviction of Watson has already had wide repercussions throughout the Dominion. Every day brings more news of the growing forces that are rallying to the defense of this young anti-war fighter.

A public meeting called by the University of Toronto C.C.F. (Social-Democrats) to discuss the preservation of civil rights adopted a unanimous resolution protesting the conviction of Watson.

Bert Leavens, Ontario Provincial Secretary of the C.C.F., and a prominent trade unionist, has publicly stated that socialists would not give up the struggle "until Watson is released."

At a meeting of the Fellowship for a Christian Social Order funds were raised from its members, many of whom are outstanding ministers of this city, for the Watson Defense. Speakers at this meeting linked the fight for Watson with the defense of the seventy-five Canadian clergymen, ministers of the United Church of Canada, who have published an open manifesto against the war. The ministers

have already been threatened with prosecution under the same act which was used to convict Watson.

In Winnipeg, members of the I.W.W. have declared their support of the Watson Defense Committee while in Saskatchewan, prairie center of Dominion, prominent C.C.F.ers have also rallied to his support.

The Canadian section of the Fourth International has been active in collecting money for the Defense Fund and has pursued independent action by the issuance of leaflets and stickers. The stickers continue to appear in public places despite police efforts to destroy them.

The War Measures Act, under whose provisions Watson was convicted, has become the main weapon in the enforcement of the Canadian military dictatorship. Repressions continue at such a pace that it is difficult, because of the press censorship, to determine the number already arrested. It is estimated that at least thirty workers have been jailed in Ontario alone, the latest victims being four Anarchist workers who were arrested in a raid on the home of one of them. Also among the latest arrests are a preacher of the Church of the Illuminati and a member of his congregation.

Public attention, however, continues to focus on the case of Watson. Although the terms of the Act under which Watson was convicted had not been made public at the time of his trial, he was the first person arrested under its provisions and has suffered the most severe sentence. The Watson case, which first drew wide publicity in the Toronto press and which has already received comment in the Commonweal, liberal Catholic monthly, has been given the greatest publicity by the Socialist Appeal, American organ of the Fourth International. The collection of funds by the American Defense Committee is proving of the greatest service in the fight for Watson's liberation. Watson's appeal will be heard sometime in November.

American Labor Aid  
125 West 33 Street  
New York City  
Dear Friend:

I PLEDGE MYSELF to contribute \$..... to the defense of Frank Watson, imprisoned by Canada's government for the crime of speaking out as a worker against the war of imperialism.



CANADA

DEPARTMENT OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE

REMISSION  
REGISTER  
62525  
T/GD

Ottawa, 1st of April, 1940.

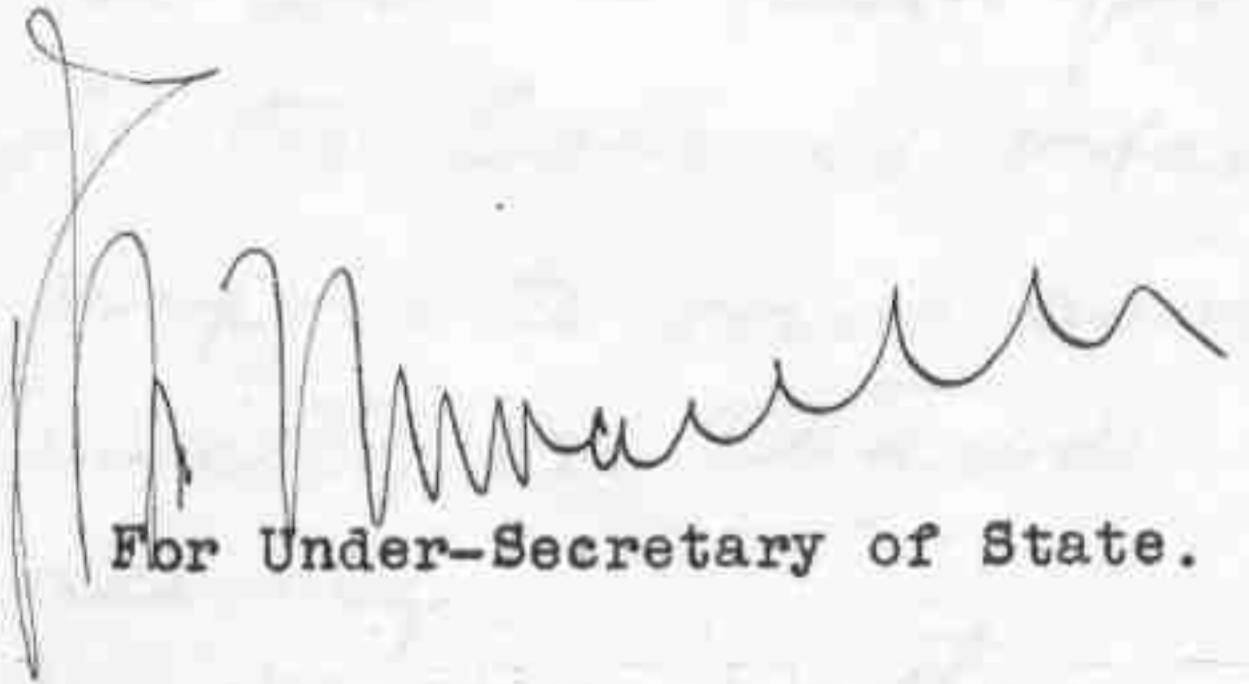
Sir,

Referring to your telegram of the 26th of January last to the Minister of Justice, concerning FRANK WATSON, now detained in the Mimico Reformatory, I have the honour to inform you that His Excellency the Administrator of the Government has had this young man's case under consideration, but does not feel justified in mitigating the sentence imposed by the Court.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your obedient servant,



For Under-Secretary of State.

William Brown, Esq.,  
135 Inglewood Drive,  
Toronto, Ontario.



Jan. 12th, 1940.

Dear Comrades:

It is with the deepest regret that I have come to decide that I can no longer continue as a member of the Socialist Workers' League. The reasons are not simple and are not entirely political. They are chiefly these:

1. I have no confidence in the present political leadership either here or in the United States and I have no longer full confidence in the international leadership. It is not simply a matter of my being at the moment in a minority position on the Buro on the Finnish question. I have often been in a minority position. I have opposed the Cannon leadership ever since I became a member of the American section in 1933. And once, in England, when I led a majority position on a political issue, I changed to the minority position after discussion. Today it is a matter of feeling that the SWL does not contain within its membership the necessary leadership. I do not want to replace the present Buro with others, for I have still less confidence in the others. I feel that a rev. organization must have a leadership which is able to think for itself, independently, creatively. I do not think that, since the retirement of MacDonald and Spector, we have had such a leadership. I have now lost faith that it can be developed out of the available material. Events may prove me wrong, and I hope so.

2. I have developed a number of doubts about revolutionary method. I am not sure but what the seeds of Stalinist bureaucratism were latent in Bolshevik organization itself, and I feel that those seeds are already sown in the Fourth International. I can envisage a Soviet America under Cannon being as ruthlessly and suicidally bureaucratic as Soviet Russia under Stalin. I think the reason for the failure of the 4th International to grow is mainly our own blind sectarian imitation of methods developed to counter different circumstances, those of Russian czarism.

I quite honestly don't know what should be the alternative methods. If I did I would campaign for them. I am just as unoriginal a leader as the rest of you, in that respect.

3. I am coming to feel - though I am not certain about it - that nothing is to be gained by selecting out the USSR for special defense any longer, in any kind of a war. I don't honestly feel that capitalism would be any worse than what seems to be there - which is certainly NOT socialism. ~~It wouldn't be any better.~~ It wouldn't be any better - the difference is not worth fighting for, any more than the difference between Germany and Canada seems worth fighting for. Such a view is not incompatible with membership in the 4th, but it certainly makes membership difficult and somewhat pointless unless one is prepared to campaign vigorously for one's position.

4. I am not prepared to conduct such a campaign. I think the result would be only to disrupt still further an already weak and disintegrating organization here. I am not prepared to take over the burdens of leadership even if my position carried. So the best thing for me to do is to withdraw.

This means that I am still definitely a sympathizer of the League, as it is to me the best of a bad job at socialist organization in



in Canada. I shall continue to give the money I now give, to work in general for our position on the FORUM, the LSR, the CLU, and elsewhere, though I make no commitments as to the extent of my activity and I will naturally advocate the position on Russia which I have now come to hold.

I know that my position has many weaknesses. It is partly a tiredness, I suppose - partly middleclass isolation and despair, no doubt - but I can't get out of it, and the best thing to do is to face it.

Of one thing only I hope the League will not accuse me - that I am seeking an "out" because of the war. If I had wanted that, I would have taken it when war broke. I remain steadfast in socialist opposition to the war, to all capitalist wars. That is the link which keeps me a sympathizer at least. I am sorry I can no longer be anything more.

Yours fraternally

Q Robertson

P.S. Re. Grant Committee: I have done more than my share of the work in this committee. I have no other friends I can bleed ~~for~~ it. I distrust the attitude of certain B. members to the use of the committee's funds. I have also other ~~work~~ that is now to me more important. I therefore withdraw from the committee. Please notify the American Labor Aid of this

Re. Files: I am willing to cooperate in the removal of party files which I have placed under the ~~care~~ of friends. If you wish to have access to these files it will be better for you to remove them as soon as possible, as I cannot promise to continue as a medium of contact with these files.

Re. Educational work, S.A. writing, etc. I cannot find time or interest at the moment to continue this work. Please inform the editor I cannot fulfill the assignment for the next issue. Please re-assign, also, the writing of the Civil Liberties Resolution.

 $\Sigma R$



## A LETTER TO LEON TROTSKY

New York, January 18, 1940

Dear Comrade Trotsky,

I am enclosing herewith Comrade Burnham's comments on your recent article on the petty-bourgeois opposition. Note the self-revealing first sentence. He shows that he thinks first of all about the reactions of the intellectual camp followers of democratic imperialism. It is unnecessary to point out also that he turns the original dispute with Eastman upside down. Eastman originally claimed to support the whole practical program of Lenin (the "engineering"); at that time, he announced, he simply wanted to make a "revolutionary" revision of Marxism by amputating its "religion" (dialectical materialism). It is amazing how the oppositionists mix up so many simple *facts* as well as ideas.

Resolutions are coming in from practically all the proletarian branches requesting a postponement of the convention in order, among other things, to have a more extended discussion on the questions raised in the first part of your article and Burnham's answer to it. Sneers and wisecracks on the subject of dialectical materialism hold sway among the declassed kibitzers of the Bronx branch (the Shachtman branch) but the proletarians in the party seriously want to know about this "religion," what it is, who is for it, and who is against it, and why.

I think you received a copy of the notice about a "Burnham graduate." Yesterday we received information of another. Robertson, the leader of the minority in Canada—the large majority there is firmly on our side—sent a letter of resignation to the party. The reasons are priceless. First, he does not want to defend the Soviet Union any longer; second, he feels the "despair" of an isolated petty-bourgeois intellectual (he is also by some strange chance a professor); and third, he is very much afraid that an American Soviet government with Cannon at the head of it would be just as ruthless as Stalin. By the way, that is exactly the fear that Burnham expressed almost word for word in a personal conversation with me and Shachtman about the time I wrote you my disturbed letter concerning him two years ago. In that conversation he also told us frankly that he wasn't sure whether the contradictions between his personal life and the responsibilities of a revolutionary leader were subconsciously at the bottom of his differences with us. A few months later Shachtman began to move over into Burnham's orbit. . . .

I am writing to Comrade Dobbs simultaneously. Since he has finally realized his long-deferred visit to you it would be shortsighted to cut the visit short. The length of his stay should be determined by your mutual convenience and desires. We will jog along here in the meantime. I suffer, of course, a great disadvantage and personal annoyance in this situation by the responsibility for administrative details which have to be taken care of somehow. It is like trying to run through a field cluttered with tough vines.

On top of that is the endless speaking. Last night I had to debate once more with Shachtman (on the organization question). I go through such labor with a feeling of physical revulsion; at least two-thirds or three-fourths of the time must be taken up in resetting Shachtman's "quotations" into their proper context and in explaining how his historical references are falsely and disloyally represented in an opposite sense to their real import. I console myself with the thought that in doing this work I am at least acting the part of a good soldier. In debating with Shachtman I crawl on my belly through the mud for the sake of the Fourth International.

With warmest greetings,

J. P. CANNON



May 1941

INTERNAL BULLETIN NO. 1

ISSUED MAY 1941 BY THE SOCIALIST WORKERS LEAGUE OF CANADA  
CANADIAN SECTION OF THE 4th INTERNATIONAL

RD thinks he wrote it after the  
defection of Stubbs and Easton

"RD thinks he wrote (this) after the  
defection of Stubbs and Easton"



## **THE NEW TASK— FROM AN EDUCATIONAL SECT TO A PROLETARIAN MOVEMENT**

(by R.Dowson? – *written during the early WW2 years – see Index note*)

The past year has been one of great difficulty for our organization. Not only did we suffer the loss of our teacher and comrade LEON TROTSKY but immediately after the outbreak of war, contact with our western groups ceased and while actual defections in the league were few, none the less, our organization, particularly in the top committees, was paralyzed for almost 9 months with no press or directives and but few group meetings. Only through the intense interest of several comrades was the league able to rally together again.

There has been in the past a definite tendency to gloss over many of our more intense internal difficulties; to smooth over important issues—this can no longer be tolerated. The past year of inactivity points to the vital necessity of coming to grips with our problems—the most alarming, the most vital to the continued existence and expansion of our group, is our social composition.

The instability of our group, the ebb and flow of its energies, is due by and large to its social composition. The Canadian section of the 4th International in spite of its program has never integrated itself in the working class organizations. This has been due to some extent to persecution by the Stalinists, Social Democrats and Bourgeoisie. None the less little has been done, particularly in the past four years to break away from a study class atmosphere and to proletarianize the league. Today we are paying the price. While the number of strikes and lookouts soars higher, while the Canadian trade unions plunge into new fields, and while capitalism both democratic and fascist reels in agony and the decay of her organisms is laid open to become a foul stench in the nostrils of the world—we who bear the responsibility for the construction of the new world impotently stand by on the side lines.

With the public activities of a study group; street corner meetings, paper distribution, open forums, cut off by the Defence of Canada Regulations we find our hands tied and our discussions on the fine points of social science seem weak stuff as the cost of living rises rapidly, youth is conscripted into the army, and the most elementary democratic rights slide by the board.

How can we break from our isolation? How can we utilize our program—a program hammered out under the fires of the Commune and the Russian Revolution, tested under the flames that consume Germany, China, Spain? How can we bring that program to the Canadian workers? Not by setting ourselves up as advisors or educators of the workers, not as historians or social theorists, but as workers ourselves—as one of them, one who fights in their fights, whose life is their life. The problems of the nature of the Russian



state, dialectics, etc. interest ourselves, and the Canadian workers all the more so, only in so far as they are related to our lives, our struggles. We who understand these problems and the value of the understanding of them must make them live issues to the workers, the only class which can be truly progressive and the class on which we must build our base. Where are the workers? In the factories, organized and unorganized. In the trade unions, craft and industrial. There must we be.

As the war becomes prolonged the pressure of bourgeois propaganda becomes more severe. Those comrades who are not in working class surroundings, those comrades whose socialism is only a small part of their everyday life, an idle intellectual enjoyment, a Sunday evening pastime, are most subject to this intense pressure. Apathy and cynicism are reflections of this pressure in our organization. Some of our groups are already dangerously infected with these germs. In order to defend ourselves, in order to maintain the organization even as it now stands, numerically small, we must take immediate steps to proletarianize our ranks. Small businessmen, office workers, clerks, due to the social atmosphere that they breathe are the groups most subject to this alien class pressure—the workers in the factories the least.

To proletarianize the league has, as has been pointed out, two purposes: 1--to enable us to spread our ideas more effectively among the workers, 2--in order to counteract bourgeois propaganda on our membership, but there is also a third—in order to protect our ranks from police terrorism. Empowered by the so-called Defence of Canada Regulations the police can and do intern anyone they see fit. This threat hangs over the heads of nearly all our comrades. Our best defence is to be deep in the Canadian labor movement. Our contacts being workers, with interests parallel to our own, even though they perhaps disagree with our ideas will recognize their solidarity with us, thus the possibility of being informed on becomes less and the police, because of the danger of repercussions will be more hesitant to use their powers. And if we are faced with internment the mask of bourgeois democracy is wrenched off to hundreds of workers.

The fact that our group has remained numerically stable since the outbreak of war is not in many cases a sign of our ideological unity. The sharpening of the world crisis caused in our American movement a split which separated the proletarian core from the talk-fest, do-nothing petit-bourgeois fringe. The Canadian movement is likewise not without petit-bourgeois elements, but every comrade must see to it that this sentiment, that this attitude towards our movement is wiped out—this can be done most effectively by an active program of proletarianization. Comrades can no longer be permitted to retain membership in the league without proving the conviction of their ideas in action. We, the Canadian Section of the 4th International, are standing at the cross roads. Are we going to build the organization that will lead the Canadian workers to power? We have the cadres and **possess** the program. Let us make it **our** program. Let us take it to the workers—into the co-operatives, the trade unions—the organizations of the proletariat.



Some of our comrades rationalize their position, their inactivity and the weakness of our league, by recalling the Winnipeg General Strike and other revolutionary upheavals which seemed more or less spontaneous and had no party leadership – “Well perhaps after all a party won’t be necessary or the party will rise out of these situations.” Comrades—history has proven the falsity of these rationalizations. Without the Bolsheviks there would have been no Soviet Union. Without a revolutionary socialist party there will be no successful social revolution. Witness the collapse of Spain. We must build the Canadian bolshevik party now and it must be a party with its roots deep in the working class.

To proletarianize our ranks in some cases difficulties will have to be overcome. But the main difficulty, that of getting jobs in industry has already been overcome by the enormous growth of the war industries. Employment in Ontario, Quebec, and British Columbia is at its maximum in the twenty years that statistics are available. More and more opportunities to get jobs in factories are opening up particularly since conscription of the twenty-one year old class for home defence has come into effect. The government has even opened up training schools so that we can learn a trade. The future growth of our organization depends on you and you.. Each group must give serious thought to the problem of its social composition and take immediate steps to remedy it. Act now! We are not doomed forever, as (some) comrades (seem to) think, to isolation and an advisory critical capacity to the working class movement. No! We are the Canadian Bolsheviks. We have the program that can bring socialism to Canada. Our program is Lenin’s program and our Transitional demands can rally the Canadian Workers and Farmers to our movement just as “Land, Peace and Bread” rallied the Russian Workers and Peasants to the Bolsheviks. But to utilize our program which has been given to us with such tremendous sacrifice of life, to build a Bolshevik party and to bring socialism to Canada, we members of the Socialist Workers League must plunge into the working class movement.

*(end)*



## FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

September 1942

### Canadian Labor's Election Victories

#### AN EXAMPLE FOR U. S. TRADE UNIONS TO FOLLOW

Every supporter of an Independent Labor Party based on the trade unions

should acquaint himself with the inspiring facts of the labor victories in the recent elections in Canada. These facts should be told in every union hall; they show the trend of the workers and dirt farmers of this continent away from the capitalist parties; they are an annihilating answer to the pretense of the CIO and AFL leadership that the workers are not yet ready for independent political action.

The Cooperative Commonwealth Federation, based on trade unions, farmers' groups and constituency clubs—a Farmer-Labor Party—was founded ten years ago, a product of the economic crisis. Until recently it had strength primarily in British Columbia and the far western districts of Canada—the traditional stronghold of radicalism in the Dominion. During the last years it emerged as the second party in British Columbia, polling 150,000 votes out of a total population of about three-quarters of a million. On a national scale it showed comparatively little strength in the 1940 elections, winning eight out of the 245 seats in the House of Commons.

But in the three years since then, the workers and dirt farmers have been moving away from the capitalist parties. The first opportunity to record the extent of this development came in the August 4 elections to the legislature of Ontario province of eastern Canada. This province contains one-third of the Dominion's population and more than half the country's industries; previously the CCF had no seats in the Ontario legislature.

The CCF emerged from the election with 34 out of the 90 seats; two other seats were won by Communist Party candidates (under "Labor-Progressive" labels—the Communist Party was still illegal). The CCF won all its seats away from the two capitalist parties—29 from the Liberals (representing the present Dominion government) and five from the Progressive Conservatives, the opposition capitalist party which came out first



with 38 seats, leaving the present administration with a drop from 63 to 14. No party won a majority, so a coalition must govern Ontario; but the CCF has promised that it will not collaborate with the capitalist parties.

Every industrial seat in Ontario (its capital, Toronto, is Canada's second city) went to CCF candidates (and the two CP candidates). Many of the 34 elected are trade unionists, mainly of CIO unions.

Of equal significance with the Ontario election were four by-elections on August 9 for the Dominion House of Commons; they showed the same trend. All the seats had been held by the Liberal Party which now rules Canada. The two western farm seats were won by CCF candidates. Of the two in the French-Canadian province of Quebec, one was won by the Communist Party (in Montreal, Canada's principal city), and the other by the newly-formed Bloc Populaire, an anti-war but reactionary French-Canadian party.

#### THEY VOTED AGAINST THE CAPITALIST CLASS

The main trend is indisputably clear: the hitherto dominant Liberal Party is being emptied, the workers and dirt farmers going to the left, while a section of the middle class is going to the right. Under the impact of the war and its economic consequences, class lines are being drawn sharply. In addition to its victories in labor constituencies, the CCF showed notable strength among young people and lower-income-bracket elements of the urban middle class—a clear indication that these elements are looking to labor for leadership.

The Stalinists supported the CCF only because the whole labor movement was doing so, and are trying to drag the CCF into "national unity" with the Liberal government. Fearful of the effect of the CCF example on U. S. trade unionists, the Stalinists are attempting to minimize the class significance of the CCF gains. Thus a dispatch to the August 15 *Worker* says the elections showed "a lack of confidence not so much on the basis of the Government's war record—Canada's achievements



in the war effort have been considerable—as its domestic policies.” In reality, however, the government’s conduct constitutes an inseparable whole against which the workers and farmers voted. In Canada as in the U. S., the government’s foreign and domestic policies are inextricably bound together.

That does not mean that the CCF has opposed the war or that the workers now brand it as an imperialist war. The CCF has supported the war, but with reserves and criticisms; it has protested the inevitably anti-labor methods of conducting the war. Its left wing (called “Trotskyist” by the Stalinists) claims to advocate a socialist solution to war and fascism, and has considerable strength. The CCF leadership has also increasingly emphasized the demand for “public ownership of natural resources and industries.” During the 1942 vote on conscription, the CCF advocated the “conscription of wealth” as well as men; just what that meant its advocates never made clear, but it appealed to the masses as anti-capitalist. In the Ontario election the CCF leader, E. B. Jolliffe, vaguely posed the issue as reaction or socialism: “Every democratic country is moving toward more collectivist organization. . . . Shall it be collectivism of the authoritarian brand, or democratic collectivism?” We need scarcely enlarge on our estimate of the reformist weakness of the CCF program. What is all-important, however, is that the votes of the masses indicated their resistance to the effects of the war and their desire for a break with capitalism and its parties.

Nor do the votes for the rabidly pro-war Stalinists indicate otherwise. They won their prestige among the workers in their “anti-war” period preceding Hitler’s attack on the USSR, a period in which they led strikes and demonstrations which the masses have not forgotten. Jailed during that period, Stalinist leaders were not released, in many cases, until long after they turned pro-war. To this day the government has not rescinded



its outlawry of the Communist Party. The workers look upon it as the representative of the Soviet Union. These factors, and not its chauvinism, explain the Communist Party votes.

### THE WORKERS DISTRUST THE CAPITALIST FUTURE

The relatively small working class of agrarian Canada has shown the way to the giant proletariat of the industrial U. S. This example on the northern part of our continent must be shoved into the faces of the CIO and AFL leadership until they can no longer pretend not to have seen it. The U. S. workers have no faith in the capitalist future; their next great step on the road to socialism will be to break away as a class from the capitalist parties.

Even the trade union bureaucrats admit in their own queasy way that the working class has no faith in the future of capitalism. Thus AFL president William Green on August 17 declares: "We have made up our minds that organized workers of all nations, and particularly the AFL, shall be fully represented at the peace conference to prevent any such debacle [as territorial grabbing]." Green here reflects the workers' distrust of a capitalist peace; but he and his bureaucratic caste propose no way whereby the workers may be "fully represented." That could be done only by a Workers' Government, while the Greens are resisting to the bitter end all steps toward formation of Labor's own party. The fantastic gap between Green's grandiloquent aim—nothing less than a labor-guided peace—and his servile capitalist-party politics is not accidental: it demonstrates the increasing gap between the workers' needs and the inadequate machinery of simon-pure trade unionism. The gap can and must be filled by an Independent Labor Party. The day of its achievement can be speeded by broadcasting far and wide in the trade unions the example of the Canadian workers.



## HARBINGERS OF THE APPROACHING STORM

Throughout Europe the rumblings of the coming revolutionary storm can be heard—above all in France, where the clouds of civil war have long been gathering. Little is needed now to explode the rotted structure of bourgeois rule. Foremost among the worries of the “democracies” is the fear, amounting almost to certainty, that their invasion of the Continent will touch off an explosion in France and elsewhere and that they may be unable to quench the resulting revolutionary conflagration.

Nor are things going so well for the ruling class within the “democracies” themselves. In Britain last month more than 100,000 coal miners went out on strike and succeeded in winning concessions from their employers. The fact that they tied up a large section of a vital industry in determined disregard of government warnings that such a strike might have disastrous effects on maturing plans for the invasion of Europe, is of the highest significance. It means that at least a very large section of the British working class is no longer subject to the hypnosis of war propaganda and is prepared resolutely to fight for labor’s rights in the very course of the war. The misleaders of British labor, the hardened and cynical labor lieutenants of the capitalist class, remain united in coalition with the Tories, but the rank-and-file of the workers are breaking away and taking to the road of independent struggle.

The same phenomenon is to be observed in Australia, where thousands of coal miners struck in defiance of the conservative union leaders and the government. Even when the government attempted grand intimidation by drafting some 500 miners into the armed forces, the strikers held firm until they had gained most of their demands.

## DEVELOPMENTS IN CANADA AND USA

In Canada, large masses of workers and farmers who previously have followed the capitalist political parties are streaming into the Canadian Commonwealth Federation at a remarkable rate. The CCF is led by a reformist, wishy-washy, middle-of-the-road coterie not one whit more advanced than the conservative leadership of the British and Australian labor parties. But the mass movement in its direction is nonetheless very significant. It means that the Canadian masses are breaking definitively with the avowed capitalist parties and embarking on the road of independent working class political action. The extent of the movement may be gauged by the fact that as early as last August, in the Ontario elections, the CCF secured 34 of the 85 seats in the provincial legislature. It was the first time in the history of eastern Canada that the workers turned so sharply against the capitalist parties. At the same time, the Canadian Congress of Labor (CIO) has increased its membership from 55,000 in 1940 to more than 250,000 at the present time.

In this country the launching of a labor party in Michigan, heart of the industrial Midwest, under the auspices of CIO unions representing 225,000 workers, holds the promise for the commencement of a general breakaway by American labor from capitalist politics.

## STRIKES, HUNGER RIOTS IN JAPAN

Even in imperialist Japan the monolithic war structure is beginning at last to crack. Reports by Japanese prisoners of war in Chungking tell of strikes by workers and hunger riots by peasants in the very shadow of the imperial palace in Tokyo. The strike movement got under way even before the extension of the war to the



## Canadian Anti-War Struggles

The process of mass radicalization as the direct consequence of the second world war is by no means limited to war-torn Europe. Significant signs of it have been for some time now discernible in the Western Hemisphere, particularly in Canada. One of its elementary expressions is the growth of unionization. The labor movement in Canada has grown apace.

The Canadian CIO numbers in its ranks more than a quarter of a million, a membership exceeding that of the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress (AFL) in 1920 and representing almost a fivefold increase in the last five years for the CIO unions. The AFL has likewise registered a proportionate growth. Canada has never known an organized labor movement of such scope and power.

The growth of the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation (CCF) expresses this mass radicalization in the political field. In unprecedented numbers, Canadian workers have recorded their complete break with the native capitalist parties. Especially significant is the fact that the soldier vote for the CCF candidates in wartime elections represents a higher percentage than in the civilian vote.

These developments almost automatically pose the question of what the developments in the United States would be, with its far more powerful labor movement, if the workers here were given the same opportunity as in Canada to vote for a party of their own in direct opposition to the candidates of the Democratic and Republican parties.

The opposition of the Canadian masses to the war is hardly a secret. From the outset this opposition acted to restrain the authorities from sending conscript troops abroad. With the growing war weariness the opposition has tended to assume increasingly sharper forms. The number of Canadian soldiers AWOL is admittedly large, the latest estimate being more than 6,000. The soldiers have other ways of demonstrating their feelings. According to Canada's Tory leader John Bracken it is the custom of drafted men to throw their arms and equipment overboard upon sailing.

Recent dispatches from Canada tell of sharp clashes between the populace and military authorities in search of draft evaders. Canadian students and youth in general are evincing less and less enthusiasm to shed their blood for the glory and profit of Canadian capitalism and the British empire.

## OPPOSITION IN CANADA

During the first world war militant opposition likewise manifested itself. But it was primarily restricted to the French Canadian population with a long tradition of revolt against British rule. This was the main source of opposition in the initial period of the second world war. The striking fact is that such is no longer the case. Oppositional elements are today strong among the English Canadians as well. As a matter of fact, the bitterest conflicts over the draft have occurred precisely among the latter.

Conditions of ripening social crisis invariably act to polarize the population. The camps that grow are those on the left and on the right. The intermediate formations tend to disappear. In Canada the first stage of this polarization is clearly observable. The ground is slipping beneath the Mackenzie King government which seeks to straddle or compromise issues. It is caught between the leftward moving masses and the capitalist die-hards.

The Canadian Tories, alarmed at the growing class consciousness of the masses are seeking a showdown. They have administered a cruel blow to the regime by defeating in a recent by-election General McNaughton, who is the Defense Minister. Fearing defeat in the national elections, Prime Minister King has prorogued the Canadian parliament for a month, in the hope that the hostilities in Europe may terminate by that time.

But this will halt neither the leftward swing of the masses, nor the determination of Canadian reactionaries to check it by the use of the sharpest measures at their command.

The program of the CCF is far from revolutionary. It is the "respectable" program of reforms and does not transcend the framework of capitalism. But the pressure of the unfolding conflict is bearing down with full fury on this movement. How far the CCF will go depends not on the wishes of the present cowardly leadership but on the degree of self-action achieved by the masses. The more confident and demanding the latter become the more surely and easily will they move on the road to socialist solutions.

The coming elections, which cannot be indefinitely postponed, will provide a significant measure of the crisis. The events in Canada are of especial importance because they will be mirrored on the morrow and on a much vaster scale across the border where similar processes are taking place at a slower tempo.



# Foreign Press Clippings

## Canada

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"It can afford us no great pleasure to say that our criticisms of some aspects of the CCF program and policy were proven correct by the election results. For we can only understand the elections as a defeat, although of a temporary character, for Canadian labor. The 180% increase to 28 seats in parliament won by the CCF is no cause for complacency or rejoicing. Eighteen of these seats are from Saskatchewan and of the remainder, 9 from other western provinces with one from the mining district of Nova Scotia. None are from the industrial and population centre of Canada, Ontario and Quebec, which is a grave weakness and danger signal.

... We must use the word defeat in describing the election results for in many cases, including Saskatchewan and Quebec, the CCF received less votes than in the preceding provincial elections of last year! There are those who would explain this defeat simply on the strength of the propaganda campaign of the Gladstone Murrays and Trestrails backed up by the war-swollen profits of the capitalist class. We must answer them with the simple truth that the reactionary and decadent ruling class will fight much harder and with more powerful weapons before it succumbs to the forces of social progress. But we must admit that the pamphlets "Social Suicide" and the condensed version of the "Road to Serfdom" [Hayek's book, reviewed in the June 1945 F.I.] had some effect in confusing many middle class elements and some workers. The fact that isn't mentioned is that the CCF leaders did little or nothing to educate their members and even many of their candidates in the socialist answers to this elementary capitalist propaganda.

The mistake of underestimating the reactionary role of the [Stalinist] Labor-Progressive Party over a period of years permitted them to play a damaging role of no small consequence, particularly in the Ontario election which had a profound psychological effect on the Federal election. ... The LPP's consistent pounding on the false line, that the Tories are the main danger

and that we must unite with the Liberals to defeat them, bore fruit. It influenced many workers to vote Liberal and a small handful to vote LPP. The political action committee of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, AFL central body, endorsed King at the last moment. This stab in the back by the craft union bureaucrats is directly attributable to the Labor-Progressive Party which holds the balance of power in the non-political T. & L.C. of C. ...

In part we attribute the defeats of June 4 and 11, for the CCF and labor, to the capitalist propaganda campaign, the gigantic sums spent by the old parties, who were aided by the LPP. But the main reason for the defeat and the point we must emphasize if we are going to learn from mistakes, was the passive, wishy-washy campaign conducted by the CCF in most constituencies. The organizational policy of the CCF in maintaining only an electioneering party proved false and meant that when the election rolled around in many constituencies there was a real scarcity of election workers. ...

While the organizational question was a factor in the defeat the most important question is political. The election was fought by the CCF on an abstract program of nationalization of the monopoly industries and other general reforms. No real distinction was made between nationalization under bureaucratic capitalist control like the C.N.R. [Canadian National Railway], etc., and nationalization under a socialist government with workers' control. The immediate problems of the workers such as lay-offs were not adequately handled. The promises of the CCF in many cases actually appeared to be smaller than the promises of the Liberals and Tories. The policy of tail-ending the Liberals on the conscription and other war issues, including the important issue of peace, pursued by the national leadership, further tended to blur the real issues in the election. The cautious, negative, abstract campaign played into the hands of our opponents and forced the CCF supporters on the defensive. A militant, positive, concrete, socialist campaign would have gained votes from all sections of the exploited masses and forced our opponents on the defensive. ..."



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14. "Traffic to the strike-bound Ford plant is completely stalled by noon, with a solid wall of cars five or six abreast, curb to curb, bumper to bumper..." It's a river of vehicles, a parking lot on a once-active street, Nov. 5, 1945. (WSL)





15. Aerial shot of the blockade, showing the cars, the gantry crane and coal pile on the banks of the Detroit River, and the Ford offices and Plant Number One, Nov. 5, 1945. (WSU)



*Subject title assigned by ed.:* **Canadian labor on the march**

*(Undated, typed notes with changes made in RD's hand, found in 1945, written by either Murray or Ross Dowson)*

In the past six months Canadian Labour has made vast strides in cracking the boss front. Strikes flare and spread from coast to coast. The Canadian worker of the Winnipeg soviets is coming back into his own. He once more awakens to his powers with the tremendous demand for labour in the new British-American subsidized war industries after ten years of unparalleled unemployment and misery. Not only are thousands of heretofore untouched workers being organized but their organizations at this period assumes a super class conscious significance. The workers of Arvida, St. Catherines, Hamilton, Nova Scotia, strike in the face of a violent lynch campaign carried on by the bourgeois press and most vicious anti-labor legislation. A fact which must be surprising to the American worker is that Canadian labour has no constitutional guarantees of any sort. While the American government can and does override The Bill of Rights and The Declaration of Independence etc. as in the case of the prosecution of the Socialist Workers Party the rights of Canadian labour in the strictest sense are maintained only by its day to day struggle and militancy.

Since the outbreak of war the Canadian government has put into effect several oppressive laws in an attempt to hamstring labour. One of the most important is the application of The Industrial Disputes Act to all vital services – most of the important industrial units in Canada have been declared vital services. Not only does this act compel the workers to arbitrate before taking strike action but before an industrial dispute can be established the workers must vote to strike – must vote to strike merely to apply for a conciliation board. This formality goes a long way in blocking organizational strikes and conciliation boards dawdle and delay in order to smash union influence in the plants. Delays of three or four months are common in waiting for board reports; meanwhile the bosses try company unions, scatter a few crumbs and openly discriminate. In spite of all this the Canadian workers have conducted many large and militant strikes.

The employees of National Steel Car, Hamilton, Ont., patiently went through this involved process, applying for a board of conciliation on Feb. 3. The board was announced on March 10, meanwhile union members were fired. On April 19 the conciliation board issued an interim report recommending the reinstatement of the president of the union local pending a final award. Reinstatement was refused and the workers went out on strike on April 26. On April 29 the government stepped in and appointed a controller of the business.

The Editors of The Financial Post shuddered and the Globe and Mail controlled by mining interests rallied to the defence of democracy: "Why an employer cannot even administer his own factory, only 1750 out of 2250 voting workers were behind the union— Its a step towards state socialism. Labour is dictating to the government". With the appointment of the controller the men were reinstated and the strike called off. But the government controller refused to negotiate with the union in spite of a government Order-in-Council that employers should do so. On July 2 the conciliation board finally reported a dead lock — "the controller advised the board he would not enter into any negotiations or collective bargaining with any union but stated he would ask the employees to appoint a representative committee – the aroma of a company union is distinguishable. But the workers did not tire and the union was not smashed and they went out on strike again. The government in order to avert more trouble was compelled this month to appoint a new controller and the arbitration continues – so the powder keg is primed.

The National Steel Car strike is but one of many of the same nature in industrial Ontario and Quebec involving thousands of workers in key war industries. The St Catherines strike at McKinnon Industries, a General Motors subsidiary, however is typical of another group involving aside from the question of union recognition—wage levels. At the outbreak of war the Canadian government, to prevent sharp wage increases and insure astronomical profits even in those industries which had no fingers in the fat war orders, issued an order in council P.C. 7440 –

Wage rate levels established by agreement or practice in any industry or trade nationally or locally during the period 1926-29, or higher levels established thereafter but prior to date hereof shall be considered generally fair and reasonable etc.



St. Catherines workers are getting wages much below those that other General Motors employees are getting in Oshawa and Windsor plants and as much as 20 cents an hour less than GM's American employees

However C 7440 shows up much sharper in a dispute which took place at Peck Rolling Mills Montreal this spring. These mills are owned by Dominion Steel and Coal Corporation who also controls most of the Nova Scotia Coal mines that have been paralysed for the past 5 months by slow downs of gigantic proportions. The basic rate at the Peck Mills was 30.7 cents an hour with 15 cents a day bonus. Fifty percent of the workers got 32 cents an hour or less. The basic rates in other concerns for work of the same nature and even in other plants of the same corporation in Ontario and Nova Scotia vary from 40 to 46 cents an hour. The conciliation board found that 32 cents an hour was higher than what was paid in the same plant during 1926-29 and therefore opposed (with government sanction) any raise in wages.

On each occasion that labour finds chinks in the state's legal armor that enable her to continue to function and make gains, the government rushes to fill the gap with heavy steel plate. In the Peck Rolling Mill dispute the law did its duty—it was 100% on the side of the bosses. But in the St. Catherines strike the workers went through all the processes of the law and still went on strike forcing 5000 workers at the Oshawa plant out of work for lack of materials and costing General Motors hundreds of thousands of dollars – so now we have a new order-in-council. From now on its not enough to hold a strike vote to get a conciliation board for even if a conciliation boards findings are not satisfactory you still cannot strike until a vote conducted by the government is taken by all workers involved.

Just what workers are involved is left to the decision of the Dept. of Labour. In this case it would appear that 5000 workers in Oshawa 100 miles away are involved and must vote permission to strike to 3700 St. Catherines workers. The Minister of Labor states that its purpose is to prevent one department or a small group of malcontents from tying up a whole plant. Workers who are absent from the vote automatically vote against the strike.

Any employee who takes part in an illegal strike, who does not patiently find his way through this labyrinth of preventatives or anyone who incites or encourages such a strike is liable to a fine of \$500 or 12 months or both. A few months ago General Electric workers in Toronto after attempting on several occasions to meet with the bosses went on strike. Immediately 14 shop stewards were arrested and each fined 20 dollars a day for the 7 days of the strike or 1960 dollars all together. The (international) president of their union C. Jackson was whisked away and interned for the duration as a dangerous agitator. 9000 Arvida workers escaped the same penalties only because the RCMP could pin the strike on no particular individuals. For 5 days, which was the duration at the stoppage, not a scrap of news appeared in the press about the complete shutdown of the largest aluminum plant in the world. At a Royal Commission held to investigate the stoppage the RCMP was unable to substantiate the Minister of Supply's accusations of sabotage and fifth column activity. Apparently the strike, in so far as it was organized was conducted by bona fide Canadian workers 18% of whom before the strike were members of the respectable National Catholic Syndicate of Aluminum Workers. Troops from the Valcartier military camp were rushed in because neither Premier Godbout of Quebec nor Minister of Justice Lapointe at Ottawa dared send in provincial or federal police for fear of alienating their constituents for such drastic action against French Canadian workers. The Minister of Defence acting under wartime powers was forced to do the dirty work. The Dominion government has since passed an order in council permitting the use of troops in event of threatened curtailment of production in war industries.

But the most important of all the illegal strikes still continues unabated. For 5 months 10,000 miners in the Nova Scotia coal fields have been conducting a slow down strike. Coal production has dropped 6000 tons daily. In one colliery daily output has been reduced from 1150 to 850 tons. Minister of Labour McLarty helplessly threatens and froths at the mouth. Government circles and the mine owners try to pass off the slow down as an internal union clash and not a wage struggle. S. Barrett International Vice-President of the United Mine Workers of America signed contracts with the bosses without consultation or ratification of the membership who immediately repudiated both Barrett and the contracts. Neither the bosses or the government recognize the outlaw convention which represents the overwhelming majority of the miners. The Dominion government which subsidized in peacetime Nova Scotia coal 2 million dollars a year and considers it an essential service graciously permits Dominion Steel and Coal corp. to refuse wage increases in the face of the government



figures of a rise in cost of living of over 12% and permits them to refuse lamps to slow down workers in the hope that a general strike will be called and Ottawa could step in with troops, fines, and internments. Some of the collieries on Sept. 20 called a 30 day truce on the promise of government and union officials of negotiations regarding wage increases.

The Canadian bourgeoisie can close their borders to American trade union organizers, can organize and arm their vigilantes, The Frontiersmen, can finger print the workers and compel the signing of yellow dog contracts—but all in vain. Canadian trade unions are struggling on and up. From 1917 to 1919 trade union membership in Canada grew from 205,000 to 375,000. All signs today point to a similar growth in the next year. At the annual convention of the Canadian Congress of Labour (which is the amalgamation of the Canadian CIO and All Canadian Congress of Labour) there were 50% more delegates than last year—this in spite of oppressive laws, intense patriotic appeals and union leadership betrayals. The Trades and Labour Congress even though bogged with jurisdictional disputes and a more rigid and conservative leadership has the same to report – the unorganized worker is being organized. *(break in text –ed.)*

(..) Canada in the past ten years has produced more than her fair share of blustering, bellicose anti labor bosses, but ever since the outbreak of war most of them have had the good sense and control to keep quiet and function subtly. However, last week Premier Hepburn of Ontario felt the public demand for another crack of his whip—elections are fearfully close and the recent Campbell soup strike at Toronto gave him an excellent opportunity to show his electors, the farmers, that he is worth his salt. Mitchell Hepburn, in case you forget; received the warm blessing of all enemies of disorder and democracy for his militant struggle in 1937 against foreign CIO agitators from the United States who were attempting to plant their insidious ideas in the minds of the good Canadian workers in General Motor's Oshawa plant. Hepburn in true Czarist fashion ordered hundreds of RCMP Cossacks to Oshawa to defend the Canadian workers. For all his protection the Oshawa workers went CIO but Mitch earned the undying respect of the pillars of Jersey City, Sell'em Ben Smith of oil fame and the Brothers Franceschini, millionaire friends of Mussolini whom he recently got released from internment camp. For the past few years aside from his share of patriotic speeches Hepburn has been pretty quiet. When the RCMP raided the Italian Consulate at the outbreak of war and interned the millionaire Ontario road contractors Franceschini, Hepburn made a rapid trip to the States for a suddenly needed rest-cure. But as I said before Hepburn's back in harness and the elections are close by. Now don't suppose for a moment that Mitch was so petty as to interfere in the Campbell Soup strike because of his onion farm – my dear no—Campbell's don't make onion soup—they make tomato soup. Campbell's in their contracts with the farmers had the great foresight to include a strike clause permitting them to break the contracts and leave the tomatoes on the farmers hands. Now Hepburn, unlike the Canadian government that pays the Western farmer not to plant wheat, is opposed to destruction of food stuffs in war times; particularly when political capital can be made of it. After all 30 cents an hour for women 32 for boys and 45 for men is enough for any worker, and what's this talk about union recognition. Into the fray with sleeves rolled up Hepburn gallantly plunged. Immediately dozens of special RCMP officers sprang up standing shoulder to shoulder, surrounding the plant. And with a noble gesture he provided free transportation to any farmer who would come and work the plant to see that his crop does not go to waste. Free transportation not out of his pocket, not out of Campbell Soups pocket but out of the provincial treasury. And don't think for a moment that Campbell's expected the farmer-workers to accept 30, 32 or 45 cents an hour. They offered 34 cents to women 35 to boys and 48 to men. The couple of hundred farm workers who took advantage of the offer apparently failed to operate the intricate machinery satisfactorily and in a couple of days the workers went back with a few of their demands tucked under their belts. Hepburn immediately scoots off to frolick with New Jersey playboys and later regretfully states in a continent wide broadcast that, "We are a democracy and its hard for the people to do anything, but the time will come when the American Legion and the Canadian war veterans will have to deal with those who cause strikes". Cheer up Mitch! You're doing your best, and – It ain't so hard. But there is one bright spot on Hepburn's horizon—he predicts the defeat of the USSR within a few months. On the day of Mitch's New York broadcast a buddy of his, Hon. W.L Houck, Liberal M.P.P. for Niagara Falls and Vice chairman of the Ontario Hydro Electric Power Commission proudly boasted that "If Ottawa is unable to handle strikers in war industries"—(and after all they have done pretty good) – "let the federal authorities turn them over to the Ontario government. We will handle the situation in the way it should be handled. If these men will strike, we will either have to conscript them or shoot them at sunrise" – Ah! democracy – Down with Hitler (and the British bourgeoisie

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## **Driven underground by the War Measures Act**

(...) and so I will try to give you a picture of what the situation was confronting the revolutionary socialists, the forerunners of our movement at that time - when World War 2 broke. (...) The first case of ("Section 98") which was a part of the War Measures Act, and you're all familiar with that, following the Quebec events; the first case that was prosecuted under the War Measures Act was against one of our comrades who dared to speak up on our behalf against World War 2. His name was Frank Watson; he was a member of the Toronto movement, and we decided that it wanted to make a declaration to the workers of Canada despite the difficulties. (*Ross's sister Lois Bedard later reported that it was Ross who rounded up bail to free him from jail -ed.*) The repression was tremendous - for instance the first victim was our press, if you followed the sequence of it - I'm not sure if you have a microfilm of it, but one will be available shortly - an issue of our press was prepared for January 1939 and was suppressed - the printer would not print it. I think there was one copy - that's all. (*See Vanguard, Sept. 1939 - ed.*) Because under the Canada Defense Regulations, any printer and any technician, who was a participant in the production were held co-responsible with the Editor. That's what the War Measures Act is, as you know. So no printer would touch our paper, and our paper ceased to come out. We were denounced by the Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario as a subversive group, and of course this was made known to the authorities who had the responsibility to act thereupon, and so our movement was driven underground.

As a matter of fact, the entire left was driven underground in the first phase of the war. You may not know it, but in the early stages, the CCF - the precursor of the NDP, which had been committed to opposition to the war, also was under circumstances which were somewhat oppressive to its functioning. (*CCF leader*) Woodsworth, in the name of the movement, when the war broke out, disassociated the CCF on the position of support of the war, but, nonetheless, he participated in the betrayal of the official position of the party by turning over the rostrum to Coldwell (*a leading CCFer*) and Coldwell committed the CCF to World War 2. In this period the CCF was in a favourable situation (...),

So, our comrade Frank Watson, who spoke out against the war - I don't remember his speech, but I believe it dealt with, he exposed the fraud of this "war for democracy" by revealing the oppressive circumstances under which the colonial masses lived under the heel of British imperialism - and he was immediately arrested and sentenced to three months in jail. At any rate, the oppression was so complete that the whole movement was driven underground. And this was not parallel to other English-speaking countries. In the United States, the Socialist Workers Party was able to function quite openly (...)

In the case of the European and British Trotskyists, they were never under any particular repression at all; as a matter of fact, Jock Haster (?) who was the leader of our movement at that time carried on a big electoral campaign at the beginning of the war as a candidate for the House of Commons (British parliament), and all during the war the French section functioned openly. (. . . ) So our movement was the only revolutionary socialist current to come out of the war.

## **Wartime repression against the Left very severe in Canada**

This war period was a very difficult period. In order to try to hold ourselves together, to survive by publishing our literature, and we published a little mimeographed sheet - it was a big thing for us - when we put it out we never knew when we might be arrested when we were circulating it. For anybody to be caught with it would be picked up - they were of course taking all kinds of radicals and



putting them into concentration camps. The entire leadership of the Communist Party at that time, who were at that time opposed to the war, were picked up; and there were other radicals and dissidents who were arrested, so our action in publishing the paper, modest as it was, was a matter of some concern from a security point of view; but we did this because we thought it was necessary to hold our own forces together, and to do what we could to promote our views - if only on the plane of hand-to-hand circulation. As a matter of fact we had trouble distributing the copies of the paper we had, because it was quite risky to circulate it. I don't know if any copies of this paper are in existence in Vancouver. It was called *Socialist Appeal* (actually, it was called *Socialist Action* - see the 1938-39 selection of articles here -ed). - there was quite an interest in the student movement of this period, and there are copies in libraries in Toronto (. . .) we could prepare a film on it.

The leadership of our movement didn't come through too well in this period, either. Then Executive Secretary of our movement was Earle Birney - I wonder if any of you know of him - one of Canada's most eminent poets, he was the leader of our movement; he was the Executive Secretary, a sort of custodian at that time, because as the war approached (*he resigned*). At the time of entrism, which we carried out into the CCF in 1936-1937, some of the top leaders of our movement went into a period of inactivity - Maurice Spector and Jack MacDonald went down to the United States - so there was a problem of leadership in our movement, and Birney - who was a top intellectual at the time - later he wrote a historical novel on this period called *Down the long table* which gives a bit of the picture of the times (... ) And he (Birney) just disappeared, and the older comrades that were around him were not able to hold the fort; with the responsibility of maintaining the movement falling down to the second layer of comrades, and I was one of them.

Well there was a whole period of holding on, and I don't want to go into the details of it - the difficulties of it. I will take us further forward to the preparations for the close of the War by our movement. We had by now revived our connections with comrades across the country. There was a small group of comrades in Vancouver; there was a small group of comrades in Montreal, and a scattering of comrades at several other points -- a few comrades in Lloydminster (Alberta) and that was what made up the structure of the movement. By November 1944 we were able to call a conference together of these forces, after that considerable period of four years of great difficulty to sustain any kind of connection whatsoever of any kind of operation.

That opportunity was (facilitated) by the fact that some of our comrades in Vancouver and a couple of other places now maintained connections within the union movement and had become delegates from their local to the CCL (Canadian Congress of Labour) convention in Montreal. I happened to be in the army by that time, stationed in Three Rivers and I was able to get to where the comrades were, in Montreal, for that convention. There is a rather interesting report of this convention -- the situation was getting more favourable to operate, and one of the reasons for that convention was the conviction that the delegates had to take on the no-strike pledge the labor brass were able to impose on the unions as a ban on strikes for the duration of the war but ... but many resisted that and it never committed itself to a no-strike pledge (. . .) despite some militant struggles, it did not, and it was not able to make a pledge on behalf of the workers to the employers (. . . thereby assuring that) the conditions of the Canadian working class would not have deteriorated as drastically as it would have otherwise in this period of extensive and deep class-collaboration, contributed heftily to by the (*Stalinist*) Communist Party. At this time the CP leadership had been released from prison and joined the ranks of the social-patriots (swinging in behind) the war effort and behind the no-strike pledge and all kinds of pacts of peace and no-wage-increase contracts. With the release of the Stalinist leadership there was all kinds of campaigning in Quebec and other parts of Canada for conscription (. . .) conscription for overseas service. Sometimes when you have the chance you should check a back file of *Labor Challenge* for a very extensive article on "how the Canadian workers went to war." The working class of this country



opposed the War all during the War (. . .) and it wasn't just the Quebec workers who made up the antiwar opposition.

At that time, in 1944, when we held our congress at the same time (as the CCL) some of our comrades came in from (BC) -- one came from Prince Rupert, Paddy Stanton, was one of the delegates at that (CCL) convention. He was the president of the Prince Rupert Labor Council and president of the Woodworkers' local. And he made one or two speeches at that congress. One of his speeches opposed the no-strike pledge (...) one of the pioneers of our movement; but anyway it was to the effect that the workers weren't going to commit themselves to a no-strike pledge, they weren't going to give up the right to strike, and he attacked the (*Stalinist*) CP for their policy and he paid tribute to (. . .) who made the greatest profit in history, in the midst of a war (*cheers and laughs from the audience -ed.*). (. . .) The workers didn't respond to that speech by making the revolution on the basis of that speech, but they didn't support the no-strike pledge.

After that convention we held a preliminary conference of the core of comrades who had come to that convention and other comrades in the East who were able to come down to it, and they laid the basis for the re-formation of our movement, in November 1944. In the Spring of 1945 we announced our public press. We came out boldly, and we launched our paper called *Labor Challenge*. At the time we came out with the first issue of that paper, we were not at all sure that we would be picked up and thrown into the hoosegow or not; we went ahead anyway. The War Measures Act was still in force; the war was still on, the war was in the European theatre but as you probably know, the Canadian government was not content to win the war in Europe; we were asked to stand behind our allies, the American imperialists, and move into the Japanese theatre, and the pressure was on for the Canadian troops who were only committed to fight the war in Europe, to go active in the war against Japan. Not many of them did, but at that time the war was still a full-blooded operation, the flow of blood to be sure on the Japanese front - and we launched that paper right about that time - but we didn't know what would happen when we launched it.

We wanted to exercise some care because we wanted to function, we wanted to get something with our ideas. For instance, in the first issue we talked about the responses of the troops to the victories in Europe and the actions among the Canadian troops for a return to Canada and for their being released from army work, and the air force and the navy of course. We reported the important strikes that had taken place among the Canadian troops, one that one of our comrades, Hugh Dowson, was involved in as an airman in England, another that I was involved in, in Canada, a strike among the Canadian armed forces (*Ross led a protest of semi-decommissioned soldiers held for possible Japan front assignment, against low-paid work on the railways, which resulted in them being discharged -- at the same time as mass opposition of US troops in Europe to "Bring the Boys back Home" -- not to the Far East -ed.*) We were starting to develop this, and starting to present a history of the class struggle that had taken place during this war period, and to present a picture of the struggles in Europe during the war, the struggles of the Greek revolutionaries. And we started to deal with the political issues in Canada, and of course as we came out in this period the CCF was undergoing a tremendous growth.

Among the youth, among the troops, right off, we issued a very important statement to the workers of this country, (while) the headline of the (*Stalinist*) paper at this time was "Hail the victory" - victory of course would lead to stable development of relations, and community and society, housing, and whatever was anticipated by the workers and was promised by the bourgeoisie -- this was going to come with the dropping of the H-bomb - the genocidal blow against the Japanese people. And the dropping of the H-bomb was hailed as you probably know, by the (*Stalinists*), in their press, "Drop the bomb against the Jap Warlords," they said in their press, they didn't talk about the Japanese people - only against the Jap Warlords - in the headlines in their paper.



*Labor Challenge* is launched: "THERE IS NO PEACE"

We came out in our paper saying "There is **no peace** -- now there will be another war" (. . .) and "Let the workers take power" - this was 1945. Everybody else was talking about "hundreds of years of peace" (*laughter from the audience -- with the Korean War still a vivid memory --Ed.*) - that's what everybody else was talking about - and we said: "There will be no peace until the workers take power in this country."

And, we developed our paper as quite an important factor I think at that time in the radicalization process of the Canadian workers - and there was a profound radicalization (how much time do I have?) At any rate as memorable at this time, it was not quite so dramatic as the Winnipeg General Strike, or on quite so broad a scale as the repercussions of the Winnipeg General Strike across America, but quite important; as a matter of fact, important sectors of the Canadian workforce were organized during the course of the war, to a large degree because of class collaboration. The employers were seeking class peace and as the CCF and the CP attempted to move forward and sink some roots, they acquired certain types of contracts, and many the CIO unions were organized during the war. I would say that unlike the situation in the United States, the industrial working class in this country were not organized in the first wave of the CIO in the late thirties; but they were only organized in the process of the war -- and, the unions in this country were built to some degree on the basis of class collaboration.

What was going to happen to this union movement? There was no doubt about it that the Canadian bourgeoisie were out to smash it. Completely destroy it, and throughout there were a series of confrontations on the biggest fronts of the organized labor movement. In the Ford plant, in the Ford strike of 1945, in my opinion was one of the most revolutionary strikes in the history of Canada. You can look back on the pages (of *Labor Challenge*) of that time and see that the Canadian workers set up barricades in Windsor - modern barricades, not the old-fashioned barricades with paving blocks (*audience laughs*) and manhole covers and things like that; they made barricades of automobiles and trucks. At that time I was stationed in Niagara-on-the-Lake. Some of the fellows I was in the army with were sons of Ford workers, and believe it or not, in the camp that I was in, there was open talk by the brass that they were going to send us, Canadian troops, in to help break the Ford strike. But I guess they had to re-think this because there was open talk among some of the fellows I was with that if they went down to Windsor and their old man was on the picket line, they'd take the gun and give it to their old man (*big laughter*) - they openly talked that way. At any rate, they never sent the troops; they sent the RCMP and some hand-picked troops of course that didn't reflect the level of consciousness and understanding of the workers, but were a select gang; and they sent the RCMP in. The RCMP were preparing to smash that strike, and at a very critical juncture of the struggle, the workers moved out, commandeered cars, buses, trucks and took their own cars and drove them down the main street that paralleled the major shops and they just jammed that whole street and the intersection with cars and buses all parked kitty-corner - an impenetrable barricade - and the RCMP couldn't get in and get the scabs in. And we had a very modern revolutionary technique develop in that struggle. Very impressive.

### **Battle to consolidate the great Canadian industrial unions won after the War**

That struggle was the first where the workers declared their determination to hold on to what gains they'd made. On the other front was the steel mill in Hamilton, the Stelco plant. At that time that local was a very weak local, formed in a period of class collaboration. When the strike was called, in the first period of the slowdown, there were more scabs in the plant than there were strikers out on the street. The relationship of forces was not favourable and there was great doubt what would happen in that struggle. But that struggle was a very important one, too. First, the workers set up a very militant picket-line; they won the support of the railway workers who wouldn't take goods out or take goods into the plant while the bosses tried to keep the plant in operation. The scabs were serviced by



helicopters. You see with our knowledge of new techniques, and I think that was probably one of the first times that aircraft had been used to bring in supplies for scabs - strikebreakers. They had an airfield in the middle of a gigantic plant, in the middle of Hamilton. At any rate the employers tried to mobilize scabs against this strike, but the climate wasn't too favourable for that; they attempted to send the troops in, in mufti, who were taking trades courses in the Hamilton area, but these fellows came out in solidarity and joined the picket-line. And there were many demonstrations of militancy on the part of workers in the East which I am sure was duplicated across the rest of Canada.

But the main two battles took place in Hamilton and Windsor and the labor movement came out of that struggle vastly armed for subsequent struggles. And we had aside from these two defensive actions, a wave of a couple of years, a wave of struggles with the workers in strikes right across the country, involving woodworkers, in Mine-Mill and the Pulp and Paper workers - all the major sectors of the working class in gigantic struggles which involved without precedent large wage increases, and other key struggles which consolidated the organized labor movement.



1946-Mar 21 - after

144- RWP Bound Vol. 1946-511

Feb 21, 1946

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# INTERNAL BULLETIN

NADIAN SECTION  
OF  
FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

— OR MEMBERS ONLY —

10 cents

P.C. Document

Vol. 1 NO. 1

MAR. 1946



## **Perspectives of the Canadian Section**

(Document for the founding convention of the Revolutionary Workers Party [RWP] – Ed.)

Attention

With the publication of this bulletin the Political Committee is opening a period of discussion in the Canadian organization.

The first document entitled “Perspectives of the Canadian Section” has been unanimously adopted by the Political Committee.

The second document is a contribution to the discussion from the British Columbia Provincial Committee. The B.C. Provincial Committee discussed this document at a meeting on February 9. We append this note from the minutes.

“Draft perspective discussed. Material on page one and first paragraph on page two were felt to be inadequate, possibly inaccurate and required further clarification; did not reflect the considered opinion of the P.C. as a whole. The balance of the draft was accepted as a reasonably accurate presentation of the P.C. views with only a reservation with regard to item in line ten of the last paragraph; ‘There must be a section directly representing our own tendency.’ With these exceptions, it was agreed that the draft should be forwarded to the units as a basis for discussion. Copy also to N.O. The point raised in connection with the quoted line above was the matter of effective and judicious timing.”

All comrades are invited to send in their contributions to the discussion.

The National Secretary

### **PERSPECTIVES FOR THE CANADIAN SECTION**

1. Our central political task today is the building of a revolutionary communist party, the Canadian section of the Fourth International.

It has long been an axiom among Leninists that a successful proletarian revolution is possible only under the leadership of a Bolshevik party, based on the principles of revolutionary Marxism, proletarian in its composition and built as a combat party on the structure of democratic centralism. The correctness of this axiom has been confirmed time and again on an international scale. Lacking a revolutionary party the proletariat has been consistently betrayed by reformism and stalinism, with fascism and imperialist war the inevitable consequence.

Despite the great slaughter, the destruction of a large part of the means of production, in brief despite the reversion to barbarism into which decadent capitalism has plunged the human race, the proletariat is once again offered the opportunity to transform society on a socialist basis. All the material conditions are present for this transformation on an international scale. Capitalism cannot solve its deep, chronic economic and social crisis, the toiling masses – including large sections of the pauperized, bankrupt middle classes — can no longer live in the old way and are seeking for



fundamental changes. Lacking only is revolutionary leadership. In 1938 comrade Trotsky wrote in the basic document of the Founding Conference of the Fourth International: "The historical crisis of mankind is reduced to the crisis of the revolutionary leadership." It is the task of the parties of the Fourth International to resolve this crisis.

2. The principal obstacle to the success of the socialist revolution in Europe today is the treacherous parties of Stalinism and social democracy. In Great Britain, the Labor Party, (with the help of Wall St. ) has temporarily succeeded in propping up the rapidly declining empire by means of sham nationalization at home (subsidizing the losses of the capitalists ) and by means of fierce repression against the colonial peoples in revolt. In France and Italy, despite the deep-going revolutionary aspirations of the masses, the socialist and Stalinist parties are collaborating with the domestic and foreign bourgeoisie in maintaining the most decadent capitalist regimes. In Eastern Europe, despite a few bureaucratic measures of nationalization, the Stalinist bureaucracy has upheld the most decrepit system of capitalist property relationships. The parties of the Fourth International will discredit reformism and Stalinism by mobilizing the masses around its program of transitional demands, by the slogan of S. P. - C. P. governments to supplant the present coalitions with capitalist parties. In the struggle for this program the parties of the Fourth International can rise to the helm of the coming revolutionary upsurge of the British and European workers.

3. While there is no revolutionary situation in Canada or the United States — these two countries being the chief beneficiaries of World War II — all signs point to a deep-going social crisis. The first flush of peacetime "prosperity" will soon be followed by widespread unemployment and a devastating economic crisis. One of the consequences of the War and its aftermath has been a profound awakening among the masses. This is reflected in the great strike wave now sweeping across the United States, which transcends any other strike movement with the exception of that of 1919 but occurs on a higher plane in its organization, its strike planning, its demands and its social consciousness; it was reflected in the Ford strike here which brought the labor movement to the threshold of a nationwide general strike in response to a threat of government repression; it was reflected in the large proportion of soldier votes for the CCF in the last federal elections and the recent provincial elections; it was reflected in the world-wide demonstrations of the American soldiers and in the R.C.A.F. strikes, and in the wide-spread participation of veterans in the strike struggles of both countries. Never before has the situation been so favorable for the building of the Trotskyist parties in these countries.

4. As a result of their belated political development and the betrayals of the top trade union bureaucracy and the Stalinists, the workers in the United States and Canada have remained attached to the capitalist parties longer than anywhere else in the capitalist world, a situation extending into the period of general capitalist decline and social crisis. Thus one of the major agitational objectives set by the American party is the campaign for independent working class political action to take the form of a labor party based on the trade unions. In the struggle within the unions for the formation of a labor party, the SWP has found a realistic approach to large sections of workers who are not yet ready to accept the revolutionary party as the political instrument of the working class: The problem of the independent political organization of the Canadian working class takes on a different form due to the existence of a large and influential reformist party, the



CCF. The key to the growth of the Canadian Trotskyist movement thus depends on a correct appraisal and attitude towards the CCF.

5. The growth of the CCF as the third national party results from certain peculiar Canadian conditions which did not exist in the U.S. and, therefore, militated there against the creation of a mass reformist party. Because of the weakness of the trade union movement, the Canadian bourgeoisie was able to more or less successfully resist the demands of the labor movement for a higher standard of living and for social legislation such as the right of collective bargaining, unemployment insurance, old age pensions, etc. They were assisted in their reactionary stand against the labor movement by American finance capital which sought to maintain Canada as a cheap labor market.

Faced with insuperable obstacles in obtaining their most elementary demands by means of economic struggles important sections of the workers turned increasingly to political action which took the form of support of the CCF in elections. The CCF reached the apex of its electoral strength in the 1943 provincial elections which marked a continuation of the same process which we have noted above. War-time industrialization marched hand in hand with a mushrooming of trade union organization. The very strengthening of the unions led to increasing consciousness among the workers of the limitations imposed on their economic struggles by governmental decrees freezing wages and manpower, high taxation, rising prices and the absence in general of social legislation. This was reflected in the 1943 provincial elections where the CCF reached the apex of its electoral support.

6. It is important to note here the reasons for the different road of political evolution taken by the workers in the United States and in Canada. Under pressure of gigantic struggles in the basic mass production industries and the stormy rise of the CIO, the American bourgeoisie felt itself compelled to make sweeping concessions to the trade union movement in order to divert the mass struggles from the revolutionary direction they threatened to take. The movement for an independent labor party as a vehicle for political reforms was arrested by Roosevelt's "New Deal" policies. The overwhelming majority of the labor movement supported Roosevelt, but because of the general distrust of the Democratic party, the bureaucrats attempted to create the appearance of "independence" through the formation of Labor's Non-Partisan League and later PAC. Thus where the strength of the trade unions in the U.S. acted for a time as a deterrent to independent political action since many reformist political gains were made without a labor party, the weakness of the trade unions in Canada gave an impulsion to the growth of the reformist CCF.

7. At the same time the weakness of the trade union movement served to determine the political direction and the character of the CCF. Although the CCL in its 1943 and 1944 conventions, proclaimed the CCF to be "the political arm of labor" and supported it in the elections, only a minority of the unions affiliated to it, and after a brief period the movement for affiliation of the unions came to a complete stop. A number of factors account for this development:



(a) The middle class and agrarian politicians who head the CCF view the labor movement with mixed feelings – while they desire its votes in elections, as class collaborationists they despise its class struggle tendencies. The unreceptive attitude of the CCF top leadership towards trade union affiliation is NOT explained by their professed fears that the unions would divert the CCF from its “socialist” principles. Much closer to the truth is the instinctive fear of the CCF bureaucracy that the stormy evolution of the workers to the left would bring unbearable pressure on their timid, reformist policies.

(b) The trade union bureaucracy itself preferred electoral support to outright affiliation because of the danger of the CCF being utilized as the organizing center for the left wing.

(c) The opposition of the Stalinists (controlling important CCF affiliates like the UAW, the IWA, the UE, and the West coast shipyard union, and partially in control of the IUMMSWA, and influential in the AFL) during the War because of their unofficial alliance with the Liberals, and since the war because of the anti-Soviet orientation of the CCF leadership.

Where a powerful influx into the unions combined with a pronounced movement to the left would have brushed all these obstacles out of the road, they became, under the circumstances, the deterrents to the organization of the CCF as a genuine labor party based on the unions.

8. Despite the electoral support of the CCL and the affiliation of a few unions, the CCF has remained predominantly an agrarian-social democratic party with its primary base in the prairie radicalism of the western farmers. With the possible exception of British Columbia, where a militant labor tradition has colored the development of the CCF, its membership in the major industrial cities of the east is primarily middle class with a small sprinkling of highly skilled workers.

9. Since its defeat in the federal and provincial elections in 1945, the CCF in Ontario has undergone a drastic decline. The present situation is one of sharp organizational crisis. Attendance at the 1945 provincial convention dropped almost 50 percent from the previous year. Most of the clubs have ceased to function at all. Those still in existence live a completely stagnant life, disinterested in politics, divorced from the labor movement and attended by a handful of middle class elements, careerists and would-be parliamentarians.

In this important province the CCF has been unable to issue a weekly paper; its present twice monthly, reflecting only in the remotest way the realities of political life and the class struggle, is in a serious financial crisis and save for the membership fees which subsidize it, it would probably cease to exist entirely.

10. In Quebec the CCF is practically non-existent. It consists of a handful of petty bourgeois elements among the English-speaking and Jewish population of Montreal and a few French-Canadian careerists and trade union bureaucrats. It has no roots or following whatever among the French-Canadian working class. Since the discontinuation of Canada Nouveau the CCF publishes no paper in Quebec, either in French or English. The thinly-disguised imperialist attitude of the CCF top leadership towards the national problems of the French-Canadian people



isolates the CCF from the proletarian population. On the other hand, a hardened, reactionary bureaucracy, supported by Ottawa, refuses to permit the slightest reform in the party and meets its critics with expulsion.

11. Since the 1943 elections, the CCF has moved steadily to the right and the right wing – Coldwell, Lewis and Co. – has consolidated its position in the party. Directly confronting the issue of conscription in parliament, the CCF members betrayed their election promise of “No conscription of manpower without conscription of wealth,” and after the inevitable defeat of their amendment they voted for the government motion. Their position in parliament during the War was that of the “loyal opposition.”

The defeat in the Ontario 1945 elections accelerated this trend to the right. The CCF leaders were even more frightened by the “red scare” of the Gladstone Murrays and the Trestrails than the middle class whose support they so ardently seek. They attributed their defeat to “too much socialism” and consciously undertook to water down in practise the social democratic Regina Manifesto, an eclectic catch-all program combining a few Marxist ideas with pacifism, middle class liberalism and agrarian “radicalism.” The statement of David Lewis — the literal embodiment of opportunism — that he was more concerned with winning an election than with reaffirmation of principles became the guiding credo of the leadership. Its policy in parliament has nothing in common with a militant defense of the workers’ interests. The ‘wild men’ like Gillis and McInness have been toned down and the “constructive” elements headed by Coldwell given the lead. The CCF are on perfectly safe grounds in voting against the government now and then because even in combination with the Tories they are too weak to overthrow it.

The foreign policy the position of the CCF is indistinguishable from that of the capitalist government. Coldwell represented the Canadian bourgeoisie at San Francisco, and Knowles represents it today at London. They support British imperialism in the far east and the Anglo-American anti-Soviet bloc in Europe.

On the trade union arena their policy is thoroughly conservative. It is dictated by three primary considerations: 1. to maintain their alliance with the top CCL bureaucracy; 2. to restrain the militancy of the workers in order to avoid “alienating” middle class voters; 3. opposition to Stalinism from the right.

12. There is no organized left wing in the CCF. The recent conventions in Ontario and Quebec saw the right wing firmly in the saddle, Even the most timid centrist proposals were quickly jettisoned. All right wing leaders were re-elected to their posts. With the exception of the recent statement by Carlyle King, Pres. of the Saskatchewan CCF, against the imperialist policy of the British labor gov’t., the only open opposition to the right wing has come from the Trotskyists. But wherever it has been confronted with our active opposition the leadership has acted with great dispatch to purge the party.

In Montreal, the right wing reacted towards an opposition, in which we participated, organized on purely organizational issues – revive the party, carry on socialist educational work, republish the French paper, participate in working class activities, etc. – by taking disciplinary action against the leaders of the opposition. Because of its heterogeneous, petty-bourgeois



composition, the opposition fell apart at the first blow of the leadership and we were left to carry through the struggle alone. In Toronto our activity in the CCYM has already provoked a public attack and warning against us in the CCF News. Meanwhile rumors of expulsions are flying thick and fast through the party. In Montreal one of our comrades has been expelled for opposing Lamoureux's strike-breaking action in the textile strike. Although his club, likewise a small petty-bourgeois group, supported his statement against Lamoureux, they quickly retreated under threat of disciplinary action. Even in B.C., the left wing consists almost entirely of Trotskyists.

13. What are the perspectives for the CCF? Its transformation into a revolutionary socialist party is virtually excluded. The right wing bureaucracy is solidly entrenched in the party, and it already disposes of substantial privileges: seats in the federal and provincial parliaments, control of the apparatus of one of the provinces, close ties with the trade union bureaucracy, etc. Moreover the leadership finds a solid base of support among the farmer elements in the prairie provinces and the middle class composition of the party in the cities. Only a successful proletarian revolution in one of the major European countries could produce such a transformation in the same way that many socialist parties were won over in their majority by the Communists in the splits of 1919 two years after the October Revolution.

Will the CCF succeed in becoming a genuine labor party based on the trade unions? While it is not possible to answer this question conclusively, certain trends can be outlined. After a period of inconclusive struggles for wage increases (and facing) the rising cost of living and growing unemployment, the workers will turn their attention increasingly towards political solutions. Under such conditions the pressure in the ranks can be strong enough to compel the affiliation of the unions despite the opposition of the Stalinists and the hostility of the CCF bureaucrats. On the other hand, such a development appears out of the question in the next period. Entering a period of economic struggles, the workers will not find in the CCF a party to attract their allegiance. Its middle class composition, its essential "neutrality" in the class struggle, its alliance with the trade union bureaucracy and the right wing position into which it is forced as a result of the pseudo-left turn of the Stalinists — these factors will combine to repel rather than attract the militant trade unionists.

However, it would be a fatal error to conclude, therefore, that the CCF has already passed the peak of its strength. Unless the revolutionary party develops in sufficient numbers and influence in the next period, a new upsurge, a new awakening of political consciousness among the masses can produce a revival of the CCF and its growth into a mass reformist party. It is not decisive for the CCF to radically change its program and its mode of operation to experience this revival. The masses will flock to it not because of its program but despite its program, not because of what it is in reality — a reformist prop of capitalism — but because of what it appears to be — a party of socialism. We have already seen how the British Labor Party mushroomed overnight in the last elections into the mass party of the British workers although its program, its actions and even its public pronouncements were far to the right of the moods and consciousness of the rank and file worker.

The opportunity can present itself to the CCF because it is already an established national party, representing 16% of the electorate, the third largest party in parliament, the government in one province, with an electoral apparatus, etc. This substantial position will tend to favor its



growth in a period of rising political struggles. While a mass growth of the parties of the Fourth International in Great Britain or on the continent can alter this perspective, at the present time we must consider a new revival of the CCF in the next few years as the most likely variant.

14. However, it must be understood that our basic political position towards the CCF does not vary in proportion to the growth or decline of the latter organization. Our position is determined by fundamental programmatic considerations. As a reformist party, the CCF — like all social democratic parties on a world scale — is an agency of the “democratic” bourgeoisie within the camp of the proletariat. Its principal task is to save capitalism from the proletarian revolution. Coldwell states this openly in his book, *Left Turn Canada*: “...it is impossible not to view with grave misgivings the future of Canada in a world in which revolutionary forces will be set loose in post-war years. The impact of unemployment and depression after a comparatively short period may destroy the very basis of our society...”. Moreover, in the period of the death agony of capitalism, where capitalism is unable to grant the smallest concessions and major struggles must be fought to maintain a low standard of living, the reformist parties act as brake and an obstacle even in the struggle for reforms.

15. Our basic strategy towards the CCF is determined by our fundamental programmatic position. This strategy can only be one of irreconcilable warfare against the CCF. The CCF must be regarded as a dangerous rival to the revolutionary party. Its influence in the labor movement must (be broken) and its working class following won over to the revolutionary party. In essence our strategy towards the reformist CCF does not differ from our strategy to the Stalinist LPP, which likewise is basically reformist although its privileges derive primarily from the Soviet bureaucracy rather than the trade union and parliamentary bureaucracy at home as is the case with the CCF. We repeat: unless the revolutionary Marxist party triumphs over reformism and Stalinism in the working class movement, not only is the victory of the proletarian revolution excluded but the advent of fascism and a third world war is inevitable.

16. How shall the revolutionary party triumph over reformism? This is a question of tactics flowing from our basic strategical line. These tactics are determined by the objective conditions of the class struggle, the relationship of forces between the revolutionary and the reformist parties, by the internal situation in the reformist party.

Thus in the revolutionary situation that followed World War One in Europe the Communists deliberately split the social democratic parties, formed the communist parties and the Communist International and conducted open warfare against the social democracy, the main obstacle to the proletarian revolution.

Three years later, when the bourgeoisie was successful in stemming the revolutionary tide with the aid of the social democracy, thus permitting the latter to recoup some of its influence in the labor movement, the Comintern at its Fourth Congress in 1922 under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky veered its course to the tactic of the united front. The tactic of the united front was designed to prove to the social democratic workers in the struggle for their immediate interests the treachery of their leadership.



In 1935 Comrade Trotsky proposed the tactic that is now popularly known as the “French Turn” to the international Trotskyist movement. This tactic called for an entry en bloc of the Trotskyists into the social democratic organizations. It was predicated on the weakness of the Trotskyist groups, on their isolation from the mass movement, on the defensive nature of the workers’ struggles against fascism, and above all on the revolutionary trends among the socialist youth and the formation of left and centrist wings within the socialist parties. Our task was to win over the youth and the left wing for our ideas and together with them form the new revolutionary party. In France, Belgium and the United States we made important progress as a result of the entry tactic.

The split did not wait until we had completely exhausted all our opportunities in the socialist parties, won over the last possible recruit to our program. It occurred as a result of the sharpening class struggle which was reflected in the internal conflict between the Trotskyists and Leon Blum and Co. Comrade Trotsky warned that the social democratic traitors were preparing to betray the masses through their peoples front policies, to dam up their revolutionary struggles and to sacrifice the masses on the altar of imperialist war. In such a situation it was imperative that the Trotskyists free their hands from the clamps of socialist party legality in order to speak openly to the masses, to denounce the betrayal of the social democracy and to show the workers the alternative, both the program and the party of the Fourth International. It was no accident that simultaneously the social democratic leaders were preparing to purge the party of the Trotskyists. Before they could perpetrate their betrayal they had to rid themselves of their most disarming critics. Trotsky’s warning proved by no means premature.

The close of the Second World War witnessed a great numerical strengthening of the social democratic and Stalinist parties in Europe. On the other hand the parties of the Fourth International are small and weak. On this basis Felix Morrow proposed a new “French Turn” – entry into the social democracy – to the European Parties. In its reply to him (Internal Bulletin SWP Vol. VIII, No 2) the European Secretariat correctly declares that: “A total ‘entrism’ policy with respect to Social Democracy is at the present hour equivalent to sure political suicide.”

It points out that contrary to the ebbing tide in the labor movement after the victory of fascism in Germany, we are now living in a “revolutionary epoch.” As a result of the disappearance of the traditional Democratic bourgeois parties, the social democracy has become overwhelmingly petty bourgeois in its composition, the internal regime has been hardened in favor of the bureaucracy with less room for democratic expression, the workers are becoming discontented with the party and leaving its ranks. It is, therefore, vital, the E.S. states, that the revolutionary party functions independently and becomes a polarizing force for all the elements detaching themselves from the old parties. Otherwise, it points to the danger that the discontented workers will drop back into apathy and disillusionment. Only on this basis, they say, will it be possible to conduct “effective faction work within the reformist organizations.” This does not mean, however, that our European comrades are delivering an ultimatum to the workers: “follow us, or else!” Since the great bulk of the workers follow the S.P. and the C.P. the principal slogan of our European comrades is “for an S.P.- C.P. government.” This tactic helps them to penetrate the opponent parties and to expose the treacherous character of social democracy and Stalinism to their working class membership.



The successes of our comrades in France in piling up a considerable vote – 11,000 – in the recent elections in France although the party was still only semi-legal, and the successful meetings attracting sizable numbers of workers indicates the correctness of the evaluation of the European Secretariat.

17. The perspectives of the Canadian Trotskyists and their attitude towards the CCF was laid down in the “Resolution on the tasks and perspectives of the Canadian movement” adopted unanimously at the Montreal Conference in Oct. 1944.

“The CCF with its social patriotic, reformist program and middle class leadership represents not the old style reformist organization based on a more or less stable class relationship but a stage in the dynamic political development of the Canadian masses in the period of capitalist decline and crisis. The struggle of the workers will bring them into sharp conflict with the present program and leadership of the CCF which makes a left wing development inevitable. We must do all in our power to facilitate this development and concentrate on the recruiting of the politically advanced elements to our organization.”

It is clear from this paragraph that the tactic adopted at the Montreal Conference was not that of total entry in the manner of the French Turn but rather one of concentrated fraction work in the CCF. This position was expressed with the general agreement of the conference by the representative of the I.S. Furthermore, it is corroborated by the final paragraph which clearly points to the necessity of developing an independent organization although it takes cognizance of the difficulties created by the then existing war-time conditions.

“Under conditions of illegality, our organization must find a bridge to the Canadian masses through its independent activity and the persistent work of its members in the existing organizations of the Canadian workers, economic and political, by advancing its program, including the transitional demands in realistic fashion. In these organizations are many workers who either have political experience or are ripe for revolutionary ideas. Our first task is to win them to our program and organization so that we can realize in the shortest possible time the formation of the Canadian section of the Fourth International.”

18. What has happened in the 15 months since the adoption of the resolution? The prediction of a struggle between the workers and the leadership and the development of a left wing has not been borne out, although that does not rule it out for the future as we have indicated above. The CCF not only has not attracted new layers of workers but most of the proletarian elements within it have voted against its policies with their feet. Far from a left wing developing, the right wing has tightened its controls and is sharpening its attacks against us. The CCF is not remotely connected with the class struggle, its internal life is characterized by political sterility and a petty-bourgeois atmosphere. Therefore, to continue our main concentration as in the past on fraction work in the CCF to the complete exclusion of all independent activity would condemn us to stagnation and impotence.

19. The pressing necessity for concentrating our energies on building the independent party of the Fourth International becomes more urgent in view of the pseudo-left turn of the Stalinists. In the absence of an independent revolutionary party, the Stalinists, by their display of



militancy, their participation in the workers struggles, their “revolutionary” phraseology have become the solo polarizing force for the awakening and radicalized workers. On the other hand, dissident elements leaving the Stalinist ranks – the McKean group was only one instance in many, excluding the completely demoralized elements — do not turn in our direction either because they do not know of our existence since we have no independent organization or because they do not consider the CCF an attractive alternative to the LPP. The same applies to workers who leave the CCF in disgust with its petty bourgeois end opportunist policies.

Without an independent organization we are likewise handicapped in the trade unions in the struggle against Stalinist policies. This leaves the workers no alternative but the policies of the trade union bureaucracy – Mosher, Millard, Conroy and Co. – who fight the Stalinists from the right. To combat Stalinism in the unions, which in some cases requires a united front with them, means the building of a left wing in the unions against the bureaucracy and thereby entails a struggle with the top CCF leadership. The militant workers in the unions will be attracted to a genuine left wing policy promulgated by us but never to the CCF policy, which combines an alliance with the CCL bureaucracy with a scolding of the workers for not having voted CCF in the last election.

20. The foremost task before the Canadian movement is the building of Trotskyist cadres. Our work in the CCF, with the possible exception of the west coast, has yielded at best only a handful of recruits, scarcely commensurate with our opportunities in the labor movement generally. This was partially due to lack of forces, partly to the lack of sufficient energy, partly to errors, but in the main we must attribute these meager results to the middle class character of the CCF and its isolation from the struggles of the workers.

Under our own independent banner we will not be circumscribed by the limitations of the CCF, but we will be able to attract the most militant and advanced elements in the unions, among the veterans and the youth who are not affiliated to any political organization. At the same time, we will become a polarizing force for dissident elements in and around the LPP, as well as for discontented groups in the CCF or on its fringe.

The turn towards independent existence signifies a change from our present policy, which has been a continuation of the policy imposed upon us by war-time conditions of legality, of concentrating our main activity on fraction work in the CCF. It signifies concentration on independent propaganda, work in the unions and direct recruitment to our party.

21. Concentration on the building of our own party does not mean that we turn our backs on the CCF. We do not contemplate a complete withdrawal from the CCF, but rather a more effective utilization of our forces. Where fruitful work is being done in CCF clubs at present, this work should be continued and intensified. Wherever favorable opportunities present themselves in certain localities and clubs in the CCF we will attempt to build a left wing faction on the basis of our transitional program. Under certain conditions, where we have the necessary forces, we may endeavor to build CCF clubs under our direct influence and leadership. Politically, we will continue our position of giving critical support to CCF candidates in elections and of advocating a CCF government for Canada on the basis of our transitional program. This tactic does not exclude,



of course, participation in elections with our own candidates in those cases where we have adequate forces and where our action does not split the vote in favor of the capitalist parties.

Our firm, unalterable principled position towards the reformist CCF must be supplemented by flexible tactics changing in accordance with the changing objective situation and the relationship of forces. Thus under certain conditions a revival of the French Turn might be necessary while under others a campaign for direct affiliation of our tendency as a party to the CCF may be indicated.

For the next period, however, our energies must be devoted to the building of the independent party of the Fourth International in Canada, sinking its influence in the unions, rooting itself in the working class. In this way, we shall be in a much better position to influence the development of any left wing tendency that may arise in the CCF in the future. A strong Trotskyist organization is the prerequisite for effective faction work in opponent organizations. A strong Trotskyist organization, active in the class struggle and disposing of sufficient cadres to enable it to maneuver, can be a powerful lever in giving guidance to and influencing the discontented worker membership in their struggles with the right wing bureaucracy of a mass reformist party.

The opportunities for the Fourth International in Canada, as throughout the world, were never brighter. To take advantage of them, the organizational vehicle, the independent Trotskyist party, must be built without delay.

Adopted unanimously by the  
Political Committee of the  
Canadian Section

Feb. 21 1946



FOR MEMBERS ONLY

# *International Information Bulletin*

Published by the Socialist Workers Party

116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

VOLUME 1 — No. 1

SEPTEMBER, 1946



PRICE 35 CENTS

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(MAY 11/46)



## **Report by the Canadian Comrades (May 11, 1946)**

*(International Information Bulletin-SWP-Sept. 1946), New York -  
Unsigned, based on experiences of Ross Dowson, Toronto )*

The Canadian section is at present just raising its head after a long period of decline and stagnation. Early in 1937 the Canadian section, then known as the Workers Party, entered the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation (a petty-bourgeois Social Democratic party with some trade union support but deriving its main strength from the agrarian regions and from middle class elements in urban centers). The entry was carried out after a long and sharp internal conflict over the correctness of the application of this tactic at that time. The decision carried only by a small majority. The entry was carried out when the organization was weak and isolated and defeatism was growing in its ranks. The entire top leadership who had proposed the entry dropped out of the movement and the entry was conducted by less experienced comrades. The CCF was already in the grips of a strong and unopposed bureaucracy and our comrades were compelled to operate on a completely illegal basis. A section of the opponents of the tactic failed to cooperate in the entry and it was not until 1938 with the aid of the International that the groups were reconciled.

Upon the advice of the International, preparations were made to wage a principled fight against the CCF leadership and gather together our forces for the reorganization of an independent Canadian section. Early in 1939, after the expulsion of the remaining comrades from the CCF, the Canadian section was reconstituted as the Socialist Workers League. Up until the outbreak of the war, which Canada entered in September 1939, we published a monthly organ called *Socialist Action*. Before we were able to gather together the scattered threads of an organization which had only a few branches scattered across this vast country, the war broke out.

The bourgeoisie immediately enforced repressive anti-labor legislation called "Defense of Canada Regulations" (these laws are now inoperative). One of our comrades was the first to be imprisoned under these laws for his principled opposition to the war. The Stalinist movement was declared illegal and its leadership interned. No printer would handle our publications. The war



hysteria had serious repercussions on our movement. The entire leadership, which was politically immature, evaporated before the storm. During the war a handful of comrades managed to maintain connections and published 3 or 4 issues of a mimeographed paper. An organizational trip was made across Canada and connections were renewed with a few scattered contacts and the old centers of Montreal and Vancouver (*by Ross – Ed.*) Due to our weakness of forces and our illegality we turned once more toward the CCF which provided a shelter from political repressions and limited contact with leftward moving workers.

In November 1944 a National Conference was held in Montreal with representatives from all the old major political centers of the movement. There it was unanimously decided to prepare immediately for the organization of an independent Canadian Section of the Fourth International. A National Committee was set up and funds raised for the publication of a monthly paper. This paper, *Labor Challenge*, was first published in June 1945 as a monthly; it is now published as a twice-monthly. *Labor Challenge* appears as a Trotskyist paper but *does not openly represent* a formally constituted Trotskyist organization in Eastern Canada where opportunities for effective work in the CCF are extremely limited. We have erected a front organization called 'Friends of *Labor Challenge*' which has no ostensible membership but permits us to carry on open activities such as meetings, forums, socials, etc.

In the West, where limited opportunities still appear to exist for work in the CCF, the group functions entirely as a fraction in the CCF. At present a discussion is taking place throughout the organization on the basis of a Political Committee document which calls for the immediate creation of an independent section of the Fourth International. Although no formal vote has yet been taken, the overwhelming majority of the movement has indicated its acceptance of this perspective. The only factor restraining us from immediately forming the open section of the Fourth International is the situation in British Columbia where the entire group is involved in the CCF and is now waging a sharp fight with the CCF leadership. The group here too, after a lengthy discussion, is now united behind the PC perspective. The next report to the IS (*International Secretariat*) will no doubt herald the formation of the Canadian Section of the Fourth International.



Our numerical strength at present stands approximately... and is concentrated in 4 cities, The overwhelming majority of the membership are proletarians. More than 50 per cent have been recruited to the movement since the outbreak of the war. In the past live months approximately 25 persons have been recruited, mostly workers with a number of student and professional elements. The entry into the CCF and the war took a great toll on the organization and accounts for the defection of the great majority the pre-war membership.

Our press is a twice-monthly with, approximately 1000 paid subscribers and a press run of 3500. Last fall \$1000 was raised to put the twice-monthly on its feet. In the mid-April 1945 issue we have announced a campaign for 1,000 new subscribers and everything indicates a complete success.

The character of the membership is quite diversified. On the West Coast, which accounts for almost half the membership, we have a good foothold in the trade unions and have developed some able and responsible trade union leaders. About half of the Toronto membership are factory workers and trade unionists, hut unfortunately they are scattered in many different unions and our work in the field is as yet comparatively ineffective. The other main group in Montreal with only one or two exceptions is composed of technicians. We have carried on some outstanding work in the rapidly expanding Quebec labor movement, hut due to the lack of French-speaking workers we have been unable as yet to take full advantage of the excellent opportunities afforded us in this area, We hope to be able to overcome these difficulties in the next period.

We are at present conducting a period of discussion on organizational perspectives referred to above. The only opposition to the Political Committee document comes from a small but vocal centrist opposition which has been hopelessly discredited and wields almost no influence in the organization. The European Secretariat's "The New Imperialist 'Peace' and the Building of the Parties of the Fourth International" was unanimously adopted by the National Committee.

The 1944 Montreal Conference set up no dues structure hut financed the press and the organization by a system of branch pledges. Money thus accumulated enabled us to publish the monthly and the \$1000



raised later on permitted us to publish the twice-monthly. A recent appeal for funds coupled with certain economy measures enables us to operate now at a reasonably small monthly deficit. One group has imposed dues on its own members but this question will be dealt with at a national convention which we hope to be able to hold some time this coming summer or fall.

May 11, 1946.



# INTERNATIONAL

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# BULLETIN

May, 1951

Vol II, No. 5

## CONTENTS

General Political Resolution presented  
for the consideration of the Second National  
Convention of the Revolutionary  
Workers Party of Canada to be held July  
14, 15 and 16.

Issued by

THE REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS PARTY

Canadian Section of the  
FOURTH INTERNATIONAL



## GENERAL POLITICAL RESOLUTION OF THE RWP – May, 1951

*(Excerpts)*

“The following is the Political Resolution as re-drafted by the editorial committee struck off by the Political Committee in line with the decision of the Second National Convention.”

<< *changes ordered by the 1951 Convention*>>

*The International Situation*

(...)

The Workers, the Trade Union Bureaucracy, and the CCF

Canadian labor underwent a transformation during and following the war far outstripping even that recorded by the Canadian bourgeoisie, their economy and their world position. The labor force as a whole increased about a fifth to well over five million; the percentage engaged in farm labor dropped to under a quarter while that engaged in manufacturing increased to well over a quarter. But the increased social weight of the industrial proletariat was even greater than the numerical and percentage gains would indicate, owing to the great advance of productivity that went hand in hand with the war and post-war expansion.

The war saw the emergence of this class as an organized force, over a million strong. But more significant than even this quantitative change was the qualitative change registered by the workers. The great centers of proletarian concentration, the mass production industries and basic industry were organized on the most modern and effective basis; industrial unionism. Furthermore, the working class of Quebec, where a veritable industrial revolution occurred during the war, began to be drawn into the mainstream of the Canadian labor movement, thus undermining the most powerful bastion of Canadian reaction.

This transformed Canadian working class consolidated its power and deepened its union consciousness in the inspiring struggles which swept the country in '46. Defying the government, War Labor Boards and the massed threat of the RCMP, the workers carried their “illegal” strikes through to the largest wage gains ever won in Canada.

Despite the youth of the Canadian labor movement, however, it is already thoroughly bureaucratized at its top levels. The new leadership of the CCL(*Canadian Congress of Labour, the industrial union federation*) as well as the moss-backed TLC(*Trades & Labour Congress, the craft union federation – ed.*) machine men, utilized the war situation of acute labor shortage to make a deal with the state. In return for the green light to expand their own base and influence virtually unhindered, they not only refused to fight for the betterment of the workers’ living standards, but sabotaged the struggle to defend them. This sabotage they carried on allegedly to further the “defense of democracy.” When the war ended, however, and the great struggles they had tried to avoid broke through despite the bureaucratic incubus, those “leaders”, while generally maintaining the appearance of going along, tried by hook and crook to get them off the picket lines and into “lawful” channels. They bear the full blame for permitting the decline in labor’s living standards despite the great gains of '46, and for the resulting



extensive period of apathy among the ranks. In their fundamental subservience to the state, and to consolidate and extend their own grip at the expense of the Stalinist section of the bureaucracy, they have carried the cold war into the unions and further undermined the democratic rights of the membership. While the CCL bureaucracy plays in part a progressive role by virtue of its support of the CCF as the political arm of labor, the bulk of the leaders of the TLC – the largest trade union center in Canada -- refuse to make even this gesture.

**(...) even more significant is the building by the CCL and important elections of the TLC of their own political arm — the CCF. The reasons for the different tempo of development of Canadian and U.S. labor in this decisive sphere are cited in the 1946 resolution of the party. Among other explanations the chief one stressed was the relative weakness of the trade union movement in Canada and the consequent more uncompromising stand of the state, reinforced by American capital which sought to retain Canada as a low wage area.**

The 1946 resolution pointed out that at that time, despite the endorsement of the CCL, the CCF still primarily rested upon an agrarian base, chiefly in the West, and its membership in the cities was almost exclusively middle class. It noted what was then merely the **possibility** of the CCF becoming the mass party of labor.

This variant was definitively shown to have been established in life by the results of elections held in 1948. While losing agrarian support the CCF swept the industrial ridings of Ontario, in which 50% of Canadian manufacturing industry is concentrated. In the same year it captured three federal industrial ridings in significant by-election upsets, considerably increasing its vote in two of them. The CCF generally held or increased its industrial support in the 1949 general election, while its rural vote declined. In these and subsequent elections the CCL Political Action Committees took on flesh and blood and through them the unions became a powerful driving force, financially and organizationally, of the CCF campaigns. Trade union leaders were increasingly run as CCF candidates; the CCL trade union bureaucracy through their dynamic role in bringing the CCF into the union movement, became a real power in the organization.

These developments <<indicate>> (proved conclusively) that as the Canadian workers advance to political consciousness they <<tend to>> express this consciousness through support of the CCF. <<The trend is well established and there is little>> (Consequently it is now established beyond a doubt that the road of Canadian labor <<will be>> (lies) through the CCF.

The CCF is still in advance of the class as a whole; its stable base is still narrow. While the workers are projected towards the CCF with no possibility of turning back, and are destined to go through the experience of reformism, nevertheless they approach the CCF with considerable doubts. These are prompted by their experiences with the trade union bureaucracy and reservations with aspects of Coldwell's policies. This attitude is highly progressive, though colored at first by a touch of cynicism not only concerning the leadership, but the whole idea of political action.

The reformist CCF <<begins to take form>> (comes on the scene) as the Canadian labor party not at a time when it is able to win any extensive or lasting reforms for the workers by legislative means and so fasten a firm grip on them, to imbue them



with the idea that class politics means class conciliation on the state level, but in the epoch of capitalist decay and permanent crisis when their old positions can be held, not to speak of new ones gained, only by economic action backed up and concentrated against the entire capitalist class by militant political action.

This contradiction of reformism in this epoch is sharply illustrated by the ever-increasing rightward trend of the CCF leadership precisely at the time the workers are more and more <<receptive to radical solutions to their problems>> (turning to it in their quest for radical solutions.) In the field of foreign policy they slavishly follow the government, except where it diverges from the British Labor Party. They support the arms economy and act as its apologists and propagandists to the workers, sugaring it over with increasingly thinning ideological enticements. They redbait and support in the last analysis the drive against civil rights. Afraid of the workers – Coldwell has hopefully pronounced the class struggle “dead” – they strive to keep them at arms length, using them as a disciplined voting bloc. While forced to play a dual role because of the necessity to hold and extend their labor base, and representing at this stage the principle of independent political action not yet subscribed to by the majority of the Canadian working class, nevertheless they are fundamentally in a war coalition with the <<bourgeoisie>> (bourgeois state), and are committed above all else to the defense of dying capitalism.

The union bureaucracy section of the CCF leadership is fully in accord with this traditional conception of the agrarian-spawned Coldwell leadership as to what is meant by the “political arm of labor.” They have made the CCF their own solely in order to protect their privileges.

The protection they thus strive to achieve has two main aspects, characterizing their dual role. On the one hand they need an independent party as pressure upon the bourgeois state, and eventually, they hope, its administrator. This need manifests itself not only in support of the CCF, but also in such actions as the increasing trend to top-level labor unity we have seen in the submissions and demands of the bureaucracy upon Ottawa. This does not alter their fundamental subservience to the state, it is merely an aspect of it. They look upon the salvation of capitalism as their own salvation. On the other hand, the conditions and relationship of class forces in Canada which drove the bureaucracy into its position of relative independence of the bourgeois parties in control of the state, forces upon the ranks of Canadian labor in periods of upsurge a highly militant political orientation in the direction of its economic struggles.

It is no accident that the call for a general strike arose powerfully among the working masses during the ‘46 strike wave, and began to be felt in the air even during the short railway strike. The bureaucracy must provide itself with a means of siphoning off and controlling this militancy which threatens their positions. The CCF serves their purpose admirably at this stage; they use it as a substitute for economic action, for that militancy they so fear. When as in 1946 and the railway strike, all their restraints failed; they use the CCF to try and maneuver the struggle off the picket lines and into the purely parliamentary arena. Through limited — if ever-diminishing — independence from the bourgeois parties, they seek to turn the state into an instrument to defend their own privileges and tie the workers more securely to it.



Thus while their support of the principle of independent labor political action is progressive and in advance of the consciousness of the majority of the Canadian working class, nevertheless the aims of their "independent politics" are reactionary. As much as the CCF farm leaders, these bureaucrats have no desire to see the CCF become a genuine labor party, that is based firmly and democratically upon the ranks and responsive to their demands and pressure. As the workers more and more turn to the CCF, under the impulsion of the war drive, the reactionary purposes of the bureaucracy will increasingly come to the fore.

There is not a whit of difference between the old agrarian CCF leadership and the Millards and Mosher. They are all dependent upon the labor movement; their policies and orientation are cut from one cloth. The trade union bureaucrats support the war economy; they merely attempt to maintain their own positions within its framework. This is symbolized by their eager scurrying into the Manpower Advisory Committee. They have carried the witch-hunt venomously into the unions. Mosher put his pen to the ruling against the CSU. Any clashes that may develop in the leadership of the CCF will, in all probability for the next period, find the Coldwell-Mosher leadership solid against dissident elements of the party's secondary leadership; on the other hand, isolated agrarian MP's (such as Percy Wright, who voted for the government's railway strike bill), and, on the other, elements from the lower ranks of the union bureaucracy who are under the direct pressure of the workers.

#### Labor and the War Drive; Perspectives

"The key to the growth of the Canadian Trotskyist Movement", states the party's 1946 resolution, "depends on a correct appraisal and attitude towards the CCF. That appraisal now can only be that the CCF is the political expression of the Canadian working class. The perspectives ahead for the class, therefore are fundamentally intertwined with the perspectives of the CCF; and the latter, in turn, with our own perspectives.

As the crisis of capitalism deepens, as the drive to complete regimentation and war becomes more and more urgent, the tendency of the trade unions to become disciplinary appendages of the state machine through the agency of the CCF parliamentary-union bureaucracy will accelerate. At the same time the political class consciousness of the workers will develop by leaps and bounds.

Driven into a blind alley on the purely economic arena, the workers have already begun to turn sharply to political solutions; the extension and deepening of the war economy, in which the political nature of all problems becomes bared to the workers, will greatly facilitate this process. The workers will resist with growing power the imposition of all the sacrifices demanded by that "emergency" in which they see the bosses reaping fantastic profits. The curve of the class struggle will be up, though not in a straight line; but periods of passivity, doubts, even demoralization, while they will be deep-going because of the increasingly gigantic tasks confronting the workers without let-up, will for that very reason also be short lived.

While events undoubtedly will force the Canadian labor movement to compress its future development to the struggle for power into a short span, no stages in this



development will be skipped. In the period ahead, the CCF will become the mass party of the Canadian working class; the CCF Trade Union Committees, the PACs —now sterile circles dominated by opportunists and careerists — will show new life; the move for affiliation to the CCF will grow prodigiously. While the bureaucracy will, if not continue to support and encourage, at least go along with these developments from an organizational point of view; the workers will imbue them with a deeper significance. As the mighty class struggles in the offing unfold, they will seek to use their organizations to defend their positions under the mounting capitalist offensive.

(...)

Even if no transforming international developments were to occur in the next period — and we cannot grant this — we can still predict that at the very least the increase of mass militancy, defensive strikes, and politicization, coupled with the critical attitude of the workers to their leaders, will prepare the basis for a broad left wing in the unions and the CCF. Whereas previous left wings we have seen in the CCF were important but isolated phenomena divorced from the broad current of the labor movement, in accordance with the predominantly petty-bourgeois composition of the CCF constituency clubs which are still its main active membership, the future will see the left wing union militants becoming the most active and critical (...) inevitably developing in opposition to the leadership on the political plane also. They will tend, from the beginning to join forces with re-inspire rank and file leftists already in the CCF, reinforced and encouraged by the anti-war traditions and growing opposition of the Canadian people — even now considerably developed as indicated by the rejection of troop involvement in Korea revealed by the Gallup Poll, by the flop of the volunteer drive, and within the CCF itself by the outspoken stand of T.C. Douglas, as well as the B.C Left.

This left-wing cadre that will be crystallized out in the CCF in the next period will present the greatest opportunities and most favorable field of work for revolutionists. Prior to this development, in the transitional period, and state of semi-flux in which the political development of the class now finds itself, we are not without some perspectives of increasing our cadre through independent work. The CCF at this time offers little inspiration, attraction or satisfaction to the militant elements of the working class and student youth.

(...) .

The only serious contenders against us in the struggle to advance our tendency, to influence the left and, at this stage, gain direct to the independent party the most militant elements of the youth, etc., are the Stalinists. What are the perspectives for them?

(...)

#### Tasks of the Party In the Next Period

The great task facing the Canadian working class is to tear themselves completely free of the capitalist state and all its agencies which are preparing their destruction, and to fulfill their socialist destiny. All the struggles of the workers in this period lead towards this goal; the struggle is political; it is destined to go through the



CCF.

(...)

“In countries where the reformist parties by far outdistance all other working class formations and are the polar force for the great majority of the proletariat (England, Belgium, Australia) our movement should attempt to integrate itself in these organizations, to organize within them and to develop within them a conscious left wing.”

The main orientation of the Canadian movement must be to “integrate itself” in the reformist party, the CCF. (...) (But) most *(are)* marked, could not get in. Some of our fraction comrades are even now threatened with expulsion. Thus the dissolution of the independent party would by no means enable a more effective utilization of our forces, the primary tactical consideration. Furthermore, we would, through premature, ill-prepared entry, be in possible danger of losing some of our painstakingly gathered and numerically quite weak forces. (...) The whole purpose of the independent party now must be to aid and forward our task of entry — entry in a sound condition that will ensure the success of this move. The independent party’s task now is to gather, consolidate and prepare our forces for this great turning point in our struggle. Thus, far from there being any contradiction between the continuation of the independent party for a period and our entry-orientation, that temporary continuation is a vital element of our orientation.

The turn to CCF fraction work, to the point of predominance in our activity, has already been made; this work must now be extended and more consciously undertaken as a task of integration. Our fraction work must be tied to the dynamics of the class movement; though complicated by the existence of the independent party it must fundamentally and increasingly be carried out in the spirit of the total entry we are preparing for. The exact inter-relations between our partial entry and independent work must be determined by the concrete circumstances within the framework of our need to build a cadre and our over-all entry orientation in which that need is a key factor.

We will maintain the party skeleton; we will publish the independent press. Apart from this, every comrade who can must join and work in the CCF <<where a concrete evaluation of the whole situation, both objective and subjective, warrants this tactic. In the trade unions, political work can best be carried on through membership in the PACs and in the main, CCF membership makes possible the fullest utilization of major field of activity>> (It is of course impossible to work effectively in the trade unions — the TLC or CCL — without CCF membership.)

The fundamental tasks of our struggle for the creation and influence of the left wing can be clearly delineated in their broad outline even at this stage.

The development and leadership of the left will proceed hand in hand with a struggle to transform the CCF from labor party merely in terms of its mass base into a labor party based upon the active participation and control of the union ranks. The most elementary steps of this transformation — campaigns for support of and affiliation to the CCF — will aid in assembling the first cadre of the left.

**The essence of the whole struggle of the trade union-CCF militants, in their**



immediate as well as fundamental objectives, is the fight for democracy, in the unions and the CCF. This is one struggle against one bureaucracy; it is the essence of the fight for independence from the capitalist state, which will be achieved, ultimately, by breaking the CCF from this state, or, as it is much more likely to be posed, by breaking the workers from the CCF.

The struggle for democracy is profoundly interlinked with the struggle for a correct program forwarding the interests of the masses. Such a program will inspire and consolidate the ranks with the feeling of power; it will also expose to them in terms of their day-to-day, bread and butter interests, what is really behind the bureaucratic curbs and repressions.

Most clearly is this the case in the demand for a referendum on the question of war — the overriding question in this period, to which all other questions are intimately connected. This slogan imbues the masses with the sense of getting a grip on the steering wheel of events; and they will ask with increasing impatience; why does the state oppose it? Isn't it democratic? And why do our leaders oppose it? A mass struggle around this issue will inexorably spell out the answers to these questions to the rank and file.

This is our central slogan against war; it raises the whole question of the war, its character, etc., in the most effective way. It is the transitional slogan against war best suited to exposing those “transitional” slogans of rallying support for war — such as “equality of sacrifice” and its old CCF variant “no conscription of man-power without conscription of wealth”— which we may expect will under the rising anti-war pressure be substituted by the bureaucracy for its present open support of the war and war program, already much more hedged than in the initial stages of Korea.

To say that this is our central anti-war slogan does not mean that it is pressed ahead of or to the exclusion of the slogans of opposition to the immediate effects of the war drive: No Conscription! No Wage Freeze! No Labor Draft! Revoke the War Budget! etc. What is meant is that the referendum slogan whenever possible should be put forward alongside such demands, channeling the hostile, nascent anti-war feelings into the direction of their generalization, preparing deeper-going, more conscious actions.

(end )



## On the dissolution of the RWP

*(with an evaluation of our past CCF orientation, and the tactic of proposed entry into the CCF (Co-operative Commonwealth Federation, founded in 1933, forerunner of the NDP.)*

*(excerpts) – (An untitled, undated document by Ross Dowson, for the National Committee, found in March 1952)*

In March 1952 the independent party of Canadian Trotskyism, The Revolutionary Workers Party, (Canadian section of the Fourth International) was formally dissolved. This dissolution brought to a successful close an action that we had commenced, following our 1951 convention, of extending our longtime CCF orientation into an entry into the CCF. With that act the handful of comrades who had been carrying on the work of the independent party moved to join those who had already been undergoing the process of integration into the mass political expression of the Canadian workers and poor farmers, the CCF.

(...)

Our entry into the CCF had two basic premises: (1) the weakness and isolation of the independent party, (2) recognition that the course of development of the masses is through the CCF. In July 1951. we put it thus:

“The Canadian proletariat is on the eve of a vast revolutionary upsurge. Impelled forward by the crushing burdens that the crisis of Canadian and world capitalism thrusts down upon them, under the inspiration of the Asiatic and European revolutions, the Canadian workers will flood into the CCF.

“There the struggle against reformism, against the labor lieutenants of the capitalist class, against the transmission belts of bourgeois ideology into the ranks of labor, will be joined. As the masses move forward, on the course that they have already set, to flood into the CCF, the internal democracy which has been monstrously curbed in the past period of apathy and disillusionment that has emboldened the Coldwell leadership, will become an even greater reality.

(...)

Not defeatism, not pessimism, not inner doubts about the mission that we had launched ourselves out on in 1938 and the program that we formulated at that time, motivated the dissolution of our 5-year old party, but “utmost confidence and enthusiasm with the knowledge that we are going to aid those workers now in the CCF and those who will be in there tomorrow to learn the method of revolutionary action — that we are going to combat the attempts of the Coldwell and Millard leadership and the Stalinists to prevent us from forging firm bonds with the workers, that we are on the road to establishing a genuine mass base for Trotskyism in Canada.”

(...)

(p2) While it is necessary, in the interests of the security of our work within the left wing and in the interests of promoting more favorable opportunities for ourselves, that we press forward the conception of the left challenging the right wing for the leadership of the party and taking over the party with **its** program and **its** personnel, it is excluded that we, through a series of victories, will take over the party — that the CCF will be transformed by the rush of events into the party of the proletarian revolution. Not only will the firmly entrenched Coldwell leadership bar us from this possibility but there are certain experiences that this treacherous leadership will attempt to take the working class through where we will refuse to follow.



(...)

The 1948 Ontario elections and subsequent similar developments such as have taken place in BC answered YES to the question we posed back in 1946 — Will the CCF succeed in becoming a genuine labor party based on the unions? The CCF is the form that the labor party has taken on in this country. It possesses a nation-wide apparatus, is the government in Saskatchewan, the official opposition in several other provinces and an effective force in the federal House (*of Commons*). Since 1943 it has rooted itself in the CCL-CIO (*Canadian Congress of Labor-(US)CIO, the industrial union federation*). Since 1951 it has deepened its influence in the TLC-AFL (*Trades and Labour Congress-{US}{AFL, the craft unions federation – ed.}*) considerably. It represents the first striving of the Canadian workers into the realm of their own class politics. It is in advance of the general level of consciousness of the class as a whole.

## NOT A TRADITIONAL ORGANIZATION

But the CCF is hardly to be called a traditional organization in the minds of the Canadian working class. They have no firmly rooted connections with it. They have no feelings of profound loyalty to the CCF as a party such as the workers in Europe have to their parties which today they might sense do not serve them as they should but in the past have given them good service and in their days of doubt hesitate to break from them (*comparing Canadian workers to the class conscious British workers to their BLP! --ed.*)

While the CCF has wide influence in the unions it is primarily through the top and secondary layers of the leadership. The majority of the workers still look to their unions as the necessary united face to show to the bosses and not the CCF. They still vote Liberal or as yet are indifferent to politics. The Canadian workers have as yet had extremely limited political experiences. In some areas where there have been the most explosive revolutionary experiences, thanks to the power of the unions and their ability to win minor concessions, the CCF has a tenuous and limited influence.

While the CCF is a mass party with a solid electoral base of about 700,000 the mass of the Canadian proletariat do not yet support the CCF; only its advanced layers do. In the 1953 federal election the CCF polled 11 percent of the national vote. In Ontario, the most highly populated and industrialized province, where 34 percent of the national vote is cast, the CCF polled little more than its national percentage. In the Prairie provinces, almost entirely a farm area and where only 17,4 percent of the national vote is cast, the CCF polled 24 percent of the vote. It is the advanced workers who support the CCF. Only a thin layer of them have joined the party and fewer still participate in its routine activities. The active membership of the CCF is Christian socialist, humanitarian, not militantly class conscious. The bulk of them are advanced in age, workers who learned their lessons in the pre-war depression years. Few are under forty.

The leadership of the CCF is firmly entrenched not only through the positions that it has won in the bourgeois state and its domination of the party apparatus but also, since the movement is comparatively new, through the prestige of having played and continuing to play an important and positive role in the building of the movement. The leadership reflects the extremely limited organized base of the movement and all the characteristics of this base. There are limited possibilities of its meeting even the first tasks that would confront it when the advanced workers translate their support into participation in the movement and the masses in crisis press on the CCF to meet their needs.

Talk to the effect that the Canadian working class are much more advanced than the American workers who are still tied to the Republican and Democratic parties is commonplace in and around political circles. This is altogether one-sided. The Canadian workers are not as qualitatively different from the United States workers as their support of a farmer-labor party would lead one to



believe. The CCF arose out of a Western agrarian movement which due to a number of circumstances achieved sufficient stability to give momentum to and provide the basis for a regroupment of radical elements in the East and sufficient momentum to sustain the movement over the past two decades. Reformism of a social democratic character has not permeated their consciousness so as to present a barrier to their quickly developing a revolutionary consciousness. The Canadian workers have no deep-seated reformist illusions such as to tie them to the CCF establishing it as a formidable barrier as the Socialist and Communist parties present themselves in the path of the formation of the mass revolutionary parties of Europe. The Canadian workers do not look upon the CCF as their big traditional organization which it is (united in) as necessary to face the assaults of Big Business.

Sections of the Canadian workers have started on the road of independent political action. The class will project itself along this route but will not stop halfway – it will not STOP at reformism except to tip its hat to it. Once fairly started they will go the whole way. They will put a foot in the CCF but it will not be much more than a toe hold to leap further.

In their next stages of increasing class consciousness and understanding the workers are going to go to the CCF — the base of the movement is sufficient to completely assure that — **the politicization of the Canadian workers is going to take place through the CCF**. But the CCF is not going to be captured by the left which will consolidate itself under the mass pressures of the workers (*and today in the 21 Century without a general radicalization of the Canadian union leadership –ed.*)

(...)

## MASS PRESSURE

The mass pressure which will assure the formation of broad leftist tendencies in the CCF by no means assures their crystallization into a conscious revolutionary vanguard capable of breaking free from the centrist milieu and leading the masses to power. On the contrary. For this, the revolutionary theory of Marxism, in this epoch called Trotskyism, and the crystallization of a vanguard around this theory that can project itself into action, is essential.

The fact that mass pressures on the (*British –ed.*) Labor Party have thrust the centrist Bevanites forward on the way to taking over the leadership of the mass party of the workers in industrially advanced Britain, and that the centrist Communist parties in backward China and Yugoslavia, breaking from Kremlin (*Russian*) directives, proved capable of taking power does not at all cause us to revise our conception of the essentiality of a revolutionary party with revolutionary theory

...

(...)

Any contrary conception would transform our tactic from an entry into what would in essence amount to a liquidation, a dispersal of our cadre. We can enter, retain our unity and not capitulate to bourgeois pressures on the movement today and centrist petty bourgeois tendencies in the movement tomorrow, not just on the basis of a more correct program (...) (*But*) the process of an entry requires for our cadre a higher centralism and a heightened consciousness of the role of the revolutionary vanguard party.

(...) the CCF leadership will vacillate, betray and betray again. In the course of the exhaustion of the progressive possibilities of the CCF there will be splits, expulsions, re-unifications, splits, etc. Our forces must be acutely sensitive to the possibilities that will exist through these splits, expulsions; of re-establishing on a higher plane the independent party so essential for the success of the revolution.



(...) But within this broad general course of the movement there are nonetheless numerous cross-currents and eddies which we must be sensitive to and, exploit as best we can. There are extensive leftist dissident tendencies in the movement continually ebbing and flowing which on occasion, though on a low political plane, have proven capable of rallying considerable forces.

The low level that these leftist, dissident tendencies develop on, the ebb and flow of their opposition, requires us to develop the utmost patience and skill in presenting our ideas (...) We reject any and all conceptions of abstentionism, that there is nothing that we can do at this juncture, of sitting on our hands waiting for the influx of the masses into the CCF clubs and the development of the viable left wing.

(...)

Our tasks at this stage of development are:

\* To sink our forces deep into the CCF which reflects the level, development and experience of the Canadian workers as it really is (...) to learn how to work with our ideas (...) to project them forward on as broad a front as possible (...) to learn how to present, apply our advanced concepts.

\*To create an atmosphere in the movement favorable to the projection of views at variance with the (CCF)leadership's – To press ourselves forward as leaders in the CCF, to identify ourselves in the public mind

p4

as its best and most able spokesmen (...) To recruit to our cells the more advanced elements who will develop in the process of our broader work and gravitate towards us (...) To broaden our connections with the movement outside our immediate contact. To increase our own understanding of our ideas and their application to new developments (...)

Far from imperiling our integration in the CCF, making us vulnerable to disciplinary actions of the right wing, work to the realization of the above general outline is an essential part of our integration in the CCF and the preservation of our forces from adaptation and assimilation in the reformist morass. The bureaucrats, freed from pressure from the left and seeking an aura of respectability, confront us with a continuing threat of persecution. But they are the less able to move in against us the more we become connected with the progressive tendencies in the party and identified in the public mind as representing the movement. The process of genuine integration is made difficult by the present quiescence of the movement and the limited left currents at present, but this problem is above all a political one (...)

As we give to progressive tendencies in the movement, generalize them, participate in the activities of the movement (...) we are not only aiding in the process of differentiation in the movement, giving the more advanced elements a better understanding of the problems and bringing them closer to us, we are building the buffers that will best defend us from the bureaucratic maneuvers of the leadership.

(...)

It is essential that we build a wider apparatus. We have already, and we can expect to do so even more often in the future, recruiting prominent and well-integrated members of the CCF to our party. These comrades represent a powerful defence around those of us who are now known as (*Courage activists today –ed.*) or who happen to get known in the future as such, from the disciplinary knife of the right wing. We cannot permit the fear that we may recruit an agent of the (...) leadership to



enter (...)

Through the connections that we are forming in the CCF we should be searching for ways and means of reaching out to make contacts in areas where we have never had contact before. We must not only increase our influence in the localities where we have long been but must broaden the base of the party...

(...)

Due to the absence of a broad left we can see no possibility in the immediate future of the appearance of a journal in which we along with others could express our ideas.

(...)

Considerable progress has been made in the identification of our comrades as leaders of the CCF, not only within the lower apparatus of the party but in local communities. Last Fall in BC where we have never before appeared as political leaders in the community, three of us ran as municipal candidates. In Toronto last Fall we ran three candidates; one ran as an official candidate, the other two, both barred from membership in the CCF, identified themselves as supporters of the CCF. We have moved boldly in the taking of posts in local and area CCF bodies. (...) But it is also a political achievement (...) on a modest scale we have been successful in winning support to leftist ideas that we have advanced. This policy of projecting ourselves forward into the lower positions of leadership in the party places us in a favorable position to influence the future course of development and at the same time makes us less vulnerable to right wing disciplinary action.

To the degree that we are successful in the struggle to give the broad dissident tendencies in the CCF a perspective and thus in turn make the CCF more attractive to genuine militants, the door will be closed or at least obstacles placed across it to prevent these critically minded workers going to (*other parties –ed.*) (...) Within the CCF circles both in the unions and the party there are sufficient forces in opposition to the CCF union bureaucracy and party bureaucrats to keep the fight for a more left policy, insofar as it involves not just dissident elements but broader tendencies, within the party itself in the whole next stage.

(...)

## CURRENT PROBLEMS

(...) Not only are the CCF clubs down to the bare bones, mainly older persons, to a considerable degree divorced from the real problems of the working class and hanging onto the party with their finger tips — but much the same holds true for the unions. While the period following the 1946-47 strike struggles has not been without militant union battles, none of the subsequent struggles developed any breadth and many unfolded in areas where the organized labor movement is weaker and there had been a long accumulation of unsatisfied grievances. Rank and file participation in union activities is at a very low ebb. In the majority of locals meetings are down to a skeleton of stewards and politicals. The union bureaucracy is riding high and fairly free from rank and file pressures, possibly more so than the CCF bureaucracy which is confronted with a more stable political opposition.

(...)

At the present juncture when it has not been possible to any extent to fuse either in action or in program with the masses, our work takes on a contradictory and uneven development. With the developing economic crisis, opportunities for limited action of a revolutionary character are



beginning to develop that will permit us to advance appropriate sections of our transitional program that can fuse both the CCF clubs and the unions in action. But at this time this hitting into the apathy of the broader layers of the workers and the hostility of the CCF and union leaderships brings about not so much a revolutionary action but a process of differentiation on the basis of a program of action. The program of action becomes divisive and thrusts these workers who are in contact with us and who are influenced by our demands to come closer to us with no experience of action.

At this juncture the main instruments of action are in a debilitated condition. The constituency clubs of the CCF have to be deepened in their contact with the *(working people and youth – ed.)* We must identify ourselves with the present level and understanding of the methods of work of the present party membership, go along with this and project limited revolutionary actions. In the CCL-CIO unions where the Political Action Committees have become accepted bodies, even though to a large extent they remain on paper between elections, every attempt must be made to develop them. The PACs can be the rallying point for the leftist elements in the locals or the instruments through which **industrial CCF clubs** can operate. The TLC-AFL which has been much slower than the CCL-CIO to break from capitalist politics, at its last convention gave the go-ahead for the formation of a Labor League for Political Education. In the TLC locals where we have influence we should press for the organization of such a league first on a local and then on a broader scale. Here too such leagues can be the rallying point for leftists in the locals.

The work of coalescing of forces in the unions and in the CCF clubs, even at this stage when there is as yet limited possibilities of implementing a program of revolutionary action, is extremely important. The more successful we are in aiding this process the more able will we be to implement the program as the opportunities begin to present themselves.

The developing economic crisis in this country is already providing the basis for a favorable hearing of the demand for (1) the sliding scale of hours, (2) organization of the unemployed by the unions, (3) unemployment insurance to the full amount of wages and for the full duration of unemployment (...) — and tomorrow for the demand that (4) the idle factories be opened under control of the workers. We must be alert to the possibilities of finding ways and means of pressing appropriate demands from our 1938 arsenal and of developing new demands appropriate to new situations in the spirit of the “transitional program” (*program of demands realizeable only with socialism – as numerated – ed.*)

Our movement has been involved in a discussion as to whether the unfolding revolutionary struggles of the masses will be able to prevent, or will be the spark that sets off, the Third World War which is rooted in the economic contradictions of capitalism and the conflict between the capitalist world and the working class character of the economies of (*the USSR – now, in the 2020s – Russia, and China, North Korea, Cuba, and even Iran and Venezuela – ed.*) We have been discussing the character of such a war and the possibilities for socialism. As important as this discussion may be, in the determination of our over all strategy, we must not for one moment stop in our anti-war struggle, in our attempts to rally the masses in opposition to the war-in-preparation and all its manifestations. We must be more aggressive in the future than in the past in advancing our anti-war program. We must be more aggressive in our defence of and in expressions of solidarity with the colonial revolutions, in condemning the military appropriations, in demanding a referendum on war or peace, in calling for the withdrawal of Canadian troops from foreign lands (*as war soon broke out in Korea, with Canada volunteering troops and materiel – ed.*)

(...)

History has given us time to integrate our forces in the CCF to the degree that can be done in a period of relative apathy. We have begun to recruit comrades native to the movement and



possessing roots in it on a modest scale, thus widening and deepening our integration in the movement considerably. The mole of history is at work undermining the foundations of the world capitalist order (...) Already Canada, one of the leading trading nations, has had its surplus transformed into a deficit — as we write US surplus food dumping further threatens Canadian economic stability. Under the hammer blows of events the Canadian workers will move forward into the CCF — and there we will fuse with them in action.

*(End)*



## VOTES FOR ALL AT 21

All residents who qualify for the vote in Federal or Provincial elections should have the vote in Municipal Elections.

## FOR GREATER FINANCIAL AID TO THE MUNICIPALITY

I would press for greater provincial aid to the municipality and for federal aid to meet rising educational costs. While most candidates will give lip-service to this demand, I suggest that political supporters of either the present federal or provincial governments are hardly in a position to claim to be fighters for this necessary measure.

Murray Dowson is a toolmaker, 38 years of age, married and a resident of Ward 1, York Township. Born in Toronto, he spent most of his youth in Ward 2 in the Township where he attended York Memorial Collegiate. He is an active member of Local 28, United Automobile Workers, CIO-CCL. During the capitalist crisis of the "thirties," which resulted in widespread unemployment and finally the tragedy of World War II, he was secretary of a branch of the York Township Workers Association. His experience in the labor movement includes jobs as steward, committeeman and negotiator in both AFL and CIO unions and as writer for the labor and socialist press.

Murray Dowson is a supporter of the CCF and a delegate from his local union to the Toronto and Lakeshore Labor Council. His local has endorsed his candidature. For further information phone RE. 8476.

**Murray Dowson Toronto Councillor**  
**1953.**

**DOWSON** Murray **X**



**VOTE LABOR-VOTE DOWSON**

